

URBAN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF KANPUR METROPOLIS

A Thesis Submitted
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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CERTIFICATE

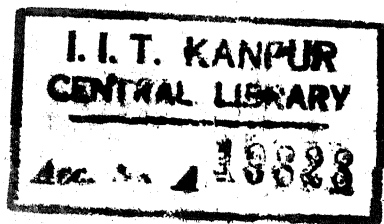
This dissertation, entitled, 'Urban Social Participation: A Comparative Study of Three Residential Areas of Kanpur Metropolis', is the work of Mr. Subhash Chandra, carried out under my supervision.

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16 JUN 1972

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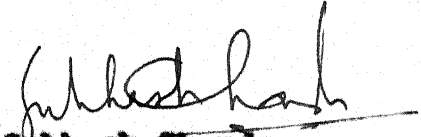
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SYNOPSIS

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The present work aims at examining the nature and magnitude of urban social participation in an Indian City. It is assumed that the study of urban social participation will offer significant insight into the mode of urbanism. The study begins by raising the question whether urban social participation in India conforms to the model of industrialised western societies or has its own modality. It argues that while urbanisation in India has many resemblances to that in the west, it also differs from the latter in important aspects. Indian cities though are large in size, high in density and heterogeneous in populations, yet, these characteristics which according to classical urban sociologists such as Louis Wirth essentially give rise to the urban way of life, have not produced the basic changes in inter-personal relations and social institutions here as they have done in the west. The distinctive structural features of Indian cities such as the population

density of the settlement, residential instability due to the transience of the migratory population, caste and linguistic heterogeneity, occupational differentiation, low rate of literacy etc, have not produced the kind of social participation which may fit with the Wirthian urban stereo-type model.

In studying urban social participation methodological lead is provided by the trait-complex approach discussed by Hatt and Reiss. The assumption is that the examination of different trait-complexes of urban social participation will help in conjuring up an image of urban social participation. The study is restricted to three residential areas of Kanpur metropolis. These areas are Patkapur - an old city area near the Central Business District, Babupurwa - a labour colony on the fringe of the city, and, Swaroop Nagar - a rich class residential area in the outer zone of the city. These areas have functional specialisations in industry, commerce and miscellaneous services, respectively. In all 225 heads of households were interviewed.

Urban social participation in its formal and informal-dimensions, is the dependent variable in this study. The independent variables, considered determinative of participation, are length of stay in city, socio-economic-status of respondents, regional, caste and religious background of respondents and the type and location of the residential areas. Since the populations of most cities consist very largely of

new-comers or non-natives, and since the in-migrants to a city must make a series of new adjustments, the analysis is largely conducted in terms of the length of residence of respondents. Throughout the analysis an attempt is made to explicate urban social participation and its co-associates, mostly in a comparative frame of the three residential areas. A noteworthy methodological feature of this study is the use of four measurement scales patterned after those of Stuart F. Chapin and Leo Srole, to obtain quantitative measures of formal participation, informal participation, neighbourliness and socio-economic-status.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter briefly discusses the rate and trends of urbanization in India with its social concomitants, analyses the theoretical issues involved in the study of urbanism in India and finally scans through urban studies in general, and, studies on urban social participation in particular. The second chapter presents the research design followed by a brief discussion of the methods of study. The third chapter discusses the setting, namely, Kanpur and the three residential areas in their structural similarities and dissimilarities. The data on in-migration and settlement are analysed in chapter four. Chapters five and six constitute the main body of the dissertation and discuss the nature of formal and informal urban social participation. In the seventh chapter the summary of findings is reported and conclusions are drawn.

The findings emerging out of the data analysis are evaluated in the perspective of the Wirthian model of urbanism and its formulations. An attempt is made to demonstrate that the picture in Kanpur and hopefully in India too, is vastly different as far as urban social participation is concerned. Supportive evidences, largely from studies on other developing societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are included to suggest that the urban-stereo type model does not hold good for societies that are still in the process of industrialising. The picture is nearer the Sjobergian construct of 'industrialising cities'. The data-analysis suggests that contrary to the postulates of the traditional urban stereo type, Kanpur residents are not deprived of close, emotional ties. They have a sufficient number of satisfying relationships with friends, kinsmen and neighbours. In general, the urban environment in the city has not prevented them from achieving a reasonably satisfactory level of social participation. This, in view of the prevailing notions of 'the city' and its alleged malevolent effects on social participation, is an important finding of the study.

As far as formal participation is concerned, the Kanpur data reveal a fairly adequate level of participation in formal organisations or voluntary associations, favourably comparable to the available western empirical material. The residents of Kanpur are found to be members of organisations, devoting time to them, and taking moderately active interest in them. The

formal participation has been found to be significantly associated with the respondents' length of stay in Kanpur and their socio-economic status. The professionals of higher socio-economic status, who are natives or urban in-migrants, are found to be the most active 'participants'. On the other hand, 'non-participants' or lesser participants are generally rural in-migrants of lower socio-economic-status occupying unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. In between these two extremes lies the general population.

On the whole, the Wirthian model has been found untenable as far as social participation in the city of Kanpur is concerned. The findings of the study suggest the need for formulating a more dynamic model of urbanism valid for India and other industrialising societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A tentative picture of the dynamic model of urbanism emerges from the analysis, from which it appears that length of stay in a metropolis and urbanism are positively correlated with education, income, occupation and socio-economic status as intervening variables. The longer a rural-migrant stays on in a city, the more are the chances of his improving his education, income and socio-economic status. Along with these variables, formal and informal participation beyond the boundaries of caste and kin and neighbourhood increase. The urban in-migrants stand better chance of moving up than the rural

in-migrants. It means that if technology, and economy improve continuously so as to provide expanding opportunities for occupational mobility, all in-migrants are likely to exhibit the urban pattern of social participation more and more with the passage of time. However, even in the most urbanised groups some spill over of tradition is likely to survive.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims at an examination of the nature and magnitude of social participation in the Indian urban milieu. The problem of social participation has been selected for this study because social participation holds the key for an understanding of the nature of urbanism. Urbanism, as a way of life can be measured and analysed effectively through the interactional pattern of the residents of a city. According to the Wirthian model the urban interaction pattern is characterised by segmental and transitory relationships and more secondary contacts.

Louis Wirth, in his classical essay, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', (1938), developed a minimum sociological definition of the city as 'a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals'. From these demographic pre-requisites, he then deduced the major outlines of the urban way of life. As he saw it, number, density and heterogeneity created a situation in which primary-group relationships were inevitably replaced by secondary contacts that were impersonal, segmental, superficial, transitory and often predatory in nature. As a result, the city dweller became

anonymous, isolated, rational and sophisticated. In order to function in the urban society, he is forced to combine with others to organize corporations, voluntary associations and the impersonal mass media of communications.¹

In the Wirthian model, as specified above, the demographic pre-requisites for urbanism are size, density and heterogeneity of population. The process of urbanization in India has led to an increase in size, density and heterogeneity of population. Therefore, before examining the nature of social participation it is in order to present a resume of the nature and trends of urbanization in India. It will include a brief outline of the rate of urbanization in India including the growing size, density and heterogeneity of population and the process of in-migration.

India, predominantly an agricultural country, has long known the city way of life. The cities of ancient and medieval India were, however, the capitals of great empires and kingdoms, provincial and district headquarters, military outposts, trading centres and places of religious pilgrimage. Most of these cities were essentially Sjobergian pre-industrial type, mainly dependent on agriculture and feudal economy. It was only by the end of the 19th century that cities with large scale industries began to emerge on the Indian scene.

1. Wirth, Louis, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24. Reprinted in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss Jr. (eds.) 'Cities and Society' pp. 46-64, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957. All page references, henceforth, are to this reprinted article.

Rate of Urbanisation:

Indian Census Reports have been the main sources for assessing the trends of urbanization in India. Ever since the first regular census was taken in 1881, almost all census reports have provided information on urban growth. The growth of urban population during the last six decades (1901 - 1961) has been marked by considerable fluctuations in the rate of urbanisation. While upto 1931 increase in urban population² has been modest the decade 1931-41 registered a fairly rapid growth of urban population (31.1 percent). The Second World War and the impetus given to a large number of industries were responsible for accelerating the pace of urbanisation during 1931-41. The next decade (1941-51) witnessed the highest rate of urban growth (41.2)percent) partly caused by the abnormal influx of refugee migration.³ The last decade (1951-61) has experienced a reduction in the rate of growth of urban population in the rate of urban population (25.9 percent). According to Bose this has been caused by the fact that industrialization in the face of rapid population growth has built-in

-
2. The urban population in the Indian Censuses is the population living in areas designated as urban and these include, besides all places with more than 5,000 population, all municipalities cantonments, notified areas and such other places as in the opinion of the Census Commissioner, possesses urban characteristics.
 3. Bose estimates that refugee migration accounted for 6.2 per cent of the urban growth thus yielding a rate of roughly 35 per cent increase in the urban population during 1941-51 due to 'normal' causes. See Ashish Bose, 'Six Decades of Urbanization in India, 1901-1961', The Indian Economic and History Review, (January, 1965, Vol. I, II, No. 1).

obstacles in the form of a surplus labour force in the non-agricultural sector which has to be liquidated before any significant shift of population from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector is to be expected.⁴ Consequently, it has slowed down the tempo of uimigration, has worsened the situation in villages and has put excessive strains on cities. In terms of population, we find that during the last six decades, the urban population has more than trebled from 25.7 million in 1901 to 78.8 million in 1961.⁵

The 1961 Census revealed a slower rate of urbanization, while some of it may be attributed to definitional changes of 'urban areas' between 1951 and 1961 but these alone cannot explain the comparative slowness of urbanization in a decade of rapid industrialization. This slow rate of urban growth in the face of rapid population increase has called for some fresh thinking on the industrialization-urbanization process and their mutual relationship as evidenced in India. Ashish Bose has argued that the theoretical generalizations regarding the relationship between industrialization and urbanization are rather flimsy and empirically unestablished. A few other major trends of urbanization in India have been highlighted by some significant studies of this decade (Davis: 1962; Zachariah and Ogue: 1962; Bose: 1965; Sovani: 1965 and Nath: 1966). These trends are presented here briefly.

Bose, Ashish, 'Population Growth and the Industrialization-Urbanization Process in India', Man in India, Ranchi, Vol. L1, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1961.

The table, indicating the total urban population of India for each of the last census years and the percentage variation for each of the six decades, has been appended in the Appendix.

The Growing Size:

Urban growth has been particularly rapid in the larger cities. A large proportion of the urban population has tended to concentrate in the larger cities which have become the fastest growing urban settlements. Even in the less urbanised states, it is the large cities and metropolitan areas that have recorded a much higher rate of increase. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh where the general increase in urban population between 1951-61 was 9.9 percent, Kanpur, Lucknow and Agra increased by 37.9 percent, 33.9 percent and 38.5 percent respectively.⁶ Within twenty years, the ten largest cities of India have doubled in population, with likelihood of this trend to intensify further. Dominance of industry, commerce, professions and administrative services in the occupational structure has been the characteristic of these large cities. The problems of over-crowding and pressure on essential services, already acute in the 1940's have now reached crisis proportions in these cities. Slums are proliferating and even the best sections of the cities are experiencing pressures of growth. The effects of this growth have been estimated by Davis for the ten major Indian Cities in 1970 and 2000. (The table is reproduced in the appendix; see Table : 3; Appendix B).

The population estimates involve predictions based on the total urban population, the size of the largest city

6. 'Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee', Vol. 1, Govt. of India, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, June, 1966, p. 48.

and the estimated populations and sizes of all ten cities in relation to the total urban population and the size of the largest city. If India experiences the industrial development that the population projections imply and the economic plans envisage, there is every likelihood that it will have cities of such tremendous size.

The extent and concomitant problems of this urbanization process have been so great that some experts refer to it as 'over urbanization'. A UNESCO Seminar Report stated that Asia as a whole was over-urbanized in 1950 because only 30 per cent of its labour force was engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, when this percentage should have been 50-55 in terms of the degree of urbanization.⁷ It has been claimed that this thesis is strongly supported by the character of urban employment in India today. Industrialization and the rate of economic development have not kept pace with urbanization, and unemployment is extensive.⁸

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7. Philip M. Hauser, (Ed.), 'Urbanization in India and the Far East'. (Calcutta-UNESCO Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, 1956, p. 133. This conclusion was based on the assumption that the relationship between urbanization and industrialization in the U.S., Canada, France, and Germany is normal. Sovani has concluded that this assumption is 'bad logic', bad history and bad statistics all combined in one', Sovani N. V., 'Urbanization and Urban India', (Asia, 1966), p.82.
 8. Chaudhari, Shachin, 'Centralization and the Alternate Forms of Decentralization: A Key Issue', in Turner, (Ed.) 'India's Urban Future', (Oxford Press), 1962. pp. 213-39.

A number of smaller cities have experienced rapid growth due to expansion of industries or administrative functionaries i.e. location of government offices etc. Cities like Ludhiana, Baroda, Coimbatore, Ghaziabad etc. are classified in this category. The largest public sector industrial units have been located in backward areas and new townships have grown around them. Efforts of planned development have led to decentralization in industrialization - leading in their turn, to a little deconcentration of population of big cities and the development of small towns like Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkela, Sindri, Chit-rangan etc. But the great majority of the smaller urban centres with less than 1,00,000 population have not experienced significant industrial-urban development. They have generally remained quasi-urban.

Rural-Urban Migration:

Urban areas in India have grown significantly by receiving in-migrants from rural areas. The data on urbanization indicate that the rate of urbanization was about the same in 1951-61 as during 1941-51. But though the rate has been similar the character of urbanization has been different. Zachariah points out that during 1951-61 the volume of rural-urban migration fell to 5.2 million as compared to 8.2 million during 1941-51, a fall of 37 percent.⁹ This indicates that the urban population had swelled more by natural increase than by in-migration during 1951-61. Bose estimates that during 1951-61,

9. Zachariah, K.C. and Ambannavar, J.P., 'Population Redistribution in India - Inter-State and Rural-Urban', mimeographed paper presented at a Seminar on Population, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, (1964).

natural increase in the urban population was of the order of 10-12 millions while net rural-urban migration was of the order of 5 to 7 millions.¹⁰ This does not fit into the much professed model of a hard pressed rural population being pushed into urban areas irrespective of employment opportunities.

Sovani has reasons to believe that this in-migration is not predominantly of the 'push' type. He asserts that the rural situation though bad is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for rural-urban migration. Bose argues that push and pull factors must be interpreted in the over-all demographic context. He points out that push factors operate in the city also, which are termed 'push-back' factors. To him, there are not always clear streams of migration from rural to urban areas but there is a high rate of turnover migration indicating push to and fro.¹¹

The Density:

One of the most noticeable features of large Indian cities is their combination of very high population density in relatively small areas and relatively low population density over other large areas. The land-use is a highly mixed one and differs markedly from the usual segregation of land use in Western Cities. Residential land-use is plagued by population

10. Bose, Ashish, 'Studies in India's Urbanization', Monograph, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, 1966, p. 79.

11. Ibid., pp. 72-73.

density. Gross densities in Delhi, for example, range from an average of 13.16 persons per acre in New Delhi to an average of 213.34 persons per acre in Old Delhi. A publication of University of California's International Urban Research Organization quoted by Breese indicated striking contrasts between densities of inner and peripheral wards in 13 large cities. In 'British developed cities', (Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras) the differences in persons per inner and peripheral square mile range from 3:1 to 5:1 while in 'Pre-British period developed cities' the ratios are Allahabad 6:1, Ahmedabad 6:1, Varanasi 8:1, Baroda 9:1, Delhi 13:1, Hyderabad 4:1 and Poona 8:1.¹²

A concomitant of urbanization in India has been the proliferation of slums. It has been estimated that the slum populations in the large Indian cities run from 7 percent to as high as 60 per cent of the total city's populations.¹³

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12. Breese, Gerald, 'Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries', Bureau of Urban Research (Princeton University; Prentice Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliff, 1966), p. 72.
 13. Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, 'The Problems of Housing in India', (Delhi: National Printing Works, 1957) p. 16. N.K. Bose has reported that more than three fourths of the population of the city of Calcutta proper live in overcrowded tenement and busties'. (N.K. Bose, 'Calcutta: A premature metropolis' in cities (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1965) p. 60). Repeated references to slum areas and resultant problems have been made in almost all the socio-economic surveys sponsored by the Research Programme Committee. Clinard has dealt this aspect very exhaustively in his monumental work 'Slums and Community Development'. See Marshall B. Clinard, 'Slums and Community Development: Experiments in self help' (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

The Heterogeneity:

Another physical characteristic of urbanization in India has been the heterogeneity of population in terms of age, occupation, education, caste, language, religion etc. The large cities of India with their industrial economy have attracted population of all types, regions, language and caste. The 1961 Census Report provides relevant data to indicate this heterogeneity of population. These figures indicate that on account of literacy the urban population varies from illiterate to educated. The percentages in the three categories of literacy i.e., illiterate, literate and educated are 55.27, 39.25 and 5.48 respectively. The proportions of the literates and persons with higher educational attainments among both sexes steadily increase as the size of the urban centre increases. On account of occupation it is found that a little more than one fifth of the gainfully employed persons are in agriculture, in urban areas. Manufacturing industries together account for 24 per cent of the gainfully employed population in the urban sector. Professional services is the largest single group in the remaining industries in the urban sector, followed closely by trade and commerce.

In the urban sector the Hindus constitute 77.35 per cent of the households. The proportions for Muslims and Christians are 14.69 and 6.84 respectively. Caste-wise, the percentages

are upper caste 17.42, middle caste 29.53, lower caste 39.42 and scheduled caste 13.63.¹⁴

The earlier material on trends of urbanization in India increasing size, density and heterogeneity of population in large Indian cities provides the back-drop for examining the nature of urbanism in India. This back-drop suggests that while urbanization in India has many resemblances to that in the West, it also differs from the latter in important details. These differences are significantly related to the nature of urbanism in India or for that reason all the developing societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The UNESCO Seminar Report points out,

Although the great cities of Asia have large size, high density and heterogeneous populations these characteristics, (which according to Wirth essentially give rise to the urban way of life), have not produced the basic changes in interpersonal relations, the nature of human beings and the social institutions, as in the Western context. Despite these relatively high densities, life has not necessarily become largely secularised, great differentiation of functions has not taken place and the way of life has not changed markedly for many of the indigenous population groups. Finally, despite the great heterogeneity of the population in many of these cities, both for exogenous and indigenous ethnic groups, little has occurred in the way of increased sophistication, rationality in behaviour, cosmopolitanism of outlook, or innovation and social change.¹⁵

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14. The data on heterogeneity, reported here, is drawn from the 1961 Census Report. The data have also been summarised in tabular form. (See Table 6; Appendix B). The table shows percentage distribution of population by age groups, caste, size of household, literacy and nature of occupation.
 15. 'Urbanization in Asia and the Far East', Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August, 1956, Tensions and Technology Series, (UNESCO, Calcutta, 1957), p.87.

Yet, as Sovani has indicated Indian cities have some characteristic features of industrial cities too i.e. democracy, bureaucracy, permissive religious norms, education, developed system of communication etc. He further points out that cities have played an important and dynamic role in movements of social reform. They have been the locale of modern factory industry and most political movements have originated and spread from there.¹⁶ However, there are reasons to believe that these similarities and congruities are only peripheral, insignificant and they do not obliterate major differences pointed out above. The analysis of urbanism in India must be based on an urban system of relationships - created by special structural-features such as the population density of the settlement, residential instability due to transience of the in-migrant population, caste and linguistic heterogeneity, an unbalanced age and sex structure, low rate of literacy, economic, and hence occupational differentiation and the embryonic system of social stratification this entails. A similar line of argument is followed by Mitchell for African Urban Studies, who maintains that the urban social system must be considered in its own right with no obligation to base the analysis on some notion of social change.¹⁷ In a similar vein Kuper has argued that each society has its own structural and ethical antecedents 'which interact with the introduced physical and social attributes of cities associated with modern industry,

16. Sovani, N.V., op. cit., pp. 88-89.

17. Mitchell, J.C., 'Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies' in 'The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies' edited by M. Banton, (London, 1966, pp.49-53.

and so create distinctive forms of urbanism. Industrialisation can not be treated as a given change, which then produces uniform consequential changes.¹⁸

Lewis (1952), Babchuck and Gordon (1962) and Gans (1962) have demonstrated that Wirth exaggerated the amount of secularization and disorganization that supposedly typifies the urban setting and characterizes the urban way of life. Recent African Studies of the decade (Epstien: 1958; Southall: 1961; Marris: 1962) have confirmed that although the urban milieu is experiencing greatly accelerated change, certain traditional patterns persist along side the new organizational forms that have emerged. Kapadia (1956), Dube (1955), Nirmal Kumar Bose (1964) and recently, Gore (1968) confirm the same thesis in the Indian context and point out the persistence of caste, joint-family, kinship and other traditional collectivities as viable units of the social relationship structure.

The persistence of traditional collectivities and the apparent complexity of social phenomena calls for a brief critical evaluation of the theoretical framework available for an analysis of urbanism in the Indian context.

The Theoretical Framework:

Social scientists employ a variety of theoretical orientations when interpreting the city's ecological and social

18. Kuper, H. (Ed.), 'Urbanization and Migration in West Africa', Berkeley and Los Angeles, (University of California Press, 1965) p. 16.

structures. The first of these orientations has been attributed to Max Weber who nearly four decades ago drew attention to the contrast between the cities of the East and the West. In his extensive studies of the great oriental cultures in which he particularly reached for the inter-dependence of religious and economic behaviour patterns, offered among other sets of constructed types, a dichotomy of the two types of urban behaviour, oriental and occidental. Weber placed both types at the opposing ends of a conceptual scale. He stressed cultural or social values in accounting for the ecology and social structure of cities, including patterning of technology. Weber took the values of socio-cultural systems as his explanatory or independent variable and the social structure of the city as his dependent variable.¹⁹

The other theoretical orientation is linked with the 'Urbanization School' in Sociology. The school drew heavily upon the writings of Simmel, Maine, Tonnies and Durkheim and addressed itself to the central question - namely, 'what are the patterns and processes involved in the transition from a pre-industrial or agrarian way of life to an industrial and urban order?' The school considered the city as a key-variable for explaining human ecology and social structure of a settlement. The contemporary sociological conception of cities and of urban life is based largely on the formulations of the Urbanization School or its chief mentor Louis Wirth.

19. Weber, Max, 'The City' translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Newwirth, (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1958).

The third major theoretical orientation refers to the Technological School which gives primacy to technology as a key-variable for explaining the social and ecological structure of the city. Empirical researches of Ogburn and Hawley (1950) suggest the effect of technology upon the spatial ordering and organizational patterning of cities. Sjoberg belongs to this school. He indicates that 'Pre-industrial and industrial cities, functioning as they do upon distinctive technological basis, diverge perceptibly in many areas of social organization.'²⁰

A brief appraisal of the above three dominant theoretical orientations suggests that attempts are made to explain the urban social situation in terms of culture, city and technology. Each of these key-variables, while, possibly successful in explicating the urban social situation at the macro-level, does not however, explain urbanism at the micro-level. Neither does it explain the differences in urbanism within the same city and also the persistence of traditional forms in various phases. These variables become, particularly, unsuitable for our study which seeks to study urbanism through the analysis of urban participation. The model incorporating any of these key independent variables proves to be too static for the kind of analysis this study is interested in. Our assumption is that the

20. Sjoberg, Gideon; 'Cities in Developing and Industrial Societies', in Hauser and Schnore (Eds.) 'The Study of Urbanization'; (John Wiley and Sons, Inc. New York, 1959).

urban community has certain invariant features of its own which are found in all cultures but are also culture bound. Social systems do not arrange themselves into neat compartments that conform to stipulated static models. At any given time, the existing urban community, in its empirical reality, may be several types within the broad class of pre-industrial or industrial cities to which they may belong. An infinite variety of urban social situations can exist on 'universal structures' and the influence of socio-cultural variables may be examined to analyse and explain these situations.

The Indian urban social situation conforms more to the Sjobergian model of 'Industrializing city' - the city which is transitional, partly industrial and partly pre-industrial. To this industrialising city model various elements of the city's social structure change at different rates. Traditional arrangements associated with the economic-technological order seem to buckle first under the impact of industrial urbanization. Sjoberg observes four processes occurring more or less simultaneously: (1) the persistence of traditional forms; (2) revision of traditional forms; (3) disappearance of traditional forms; and (4) emergence of new structures.²¹ As indicated earlier, the Indian urban milieu is characterised by the persistence of traditional forms. Another recurrent of these processes is the reshaping of pre-industrial forms -

21. Sjoberg, Gideon, 'Cities in Developing and Industrial Societies', op. cit. pp. 220-228.

familial, kinship, economic and political, and so on - to accord with the needs of the emerging industrial - urban order (Ross: 1961; Sri Nivas: 1962). Many of these structures tend toward the model of an industrialized city while the rest persist in their own forms and modalities.

Thus, the Sjobergian model of the industrializing city offers a more dynamic alternative for examining urban social situation in India. The dynamism of this model can be explained and understood through the association of traditional and non-traditional forms of social interaction with variables like migration, length of stay in the city, socio-economic-status, socio-ecological status of the neighbourhood etc. Such a dynamic model provides an adequate theoretical frame for examining urbanism in India which when investigated in a detailed and integrated way may help formulate a theoretical construct, valid not only for India but for other contemporary developing societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Sovani, too, bears out the logico-empirical possibility and utility of such a construct to study the urban social order of developing societies.²²

Given the framework of a typology, into which detailed analysis can be fitted, the next crucial question is - what is to be studied? The investigator, seeking to understand the nature of urbanism in one of the booming cities of the developing

22. Sovani, N.V., op. cit. pp. 85-86

society, faces the problem of not knowing where to begin. The crowded jumble of people may seem to resemble what Pahl (1968: p. 29) calls 'Hobbesian anarchy of all against all'. City life may appear' as a kind of phantasmagoria, a succession of dim figures, caught up in a myriad of diverse activities with little to give meaning or pattern to it all' (Epstein, 1964, p. 83). However, the arrangements of human atoms is never at random; there is a pattern, a social system, and individuals are participating in social life. This participation in urban social life offers a significant clue and a very relevant starting point to a study that seeks to examine urbanism.

A Brief Review of Urban Studies:

The concern with social participation and interaction in urban settings has been demonstrated in the West too. It represented a growing awareness that social interaction, after all, was the theoretical starting point in Sociology. This awareness itself signifies a shift in urban sociology which historically is very recent. As a matter of fact urban sociology has travelled a long way since its formal induction in the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in the year 1925. The publication of two volumes 'The City' (Park, Burgess and McKenzie: 1925) and 'The Urban Community' (Burgess: 1925) heralded the growth of the Chicago School which continued to dominate the field of urban studies for nearly three decades. The school did much to make explicit a fundamentally sub-social

explanatory framework based on biological analogy. As Park put it, 'The metropolis is, it seems a great sorting and sifting mechanism, which, in ways that are not yet wholly understood, infallibly selects out of the population as a whole the individuals best suited to live in a particular region and a particular milieu.'²³

Arising out of the human ecology tradition, a number of studies have described and analysed the growth and development of 'metropolitan Communities'. Park and Mckenzie (1925) developed the theoretical frame for a study of human ecology; Hawley (1950) and Quinn (1950) made formal contributions to urban ecology in presenting human ecology as a theory of community structure. Interest in the spatial dimensions of urban agglomeration led to the generation of zonal, sector and multiple-nuclei hypotheses. Shevky (1949), Bell (1953) and Kish (1954) concentrated on the pattern of internal differentiation within the metropolitan complex. It further led to an investigation into the process of 'suburbanization' which was considered to be an aspect of the process of internal differentiation of metropolitan areas. Hawley (1956), Blizzard (1954) and Martin (1953) conducted studies on 'suburb' and 'rural-urban fringe'. The closely related research problem of determining the 'relative influence' on dominance of metropolitan centres infused the regional bias in urban studies, drawing the interests of urban geographers, land economists, architects along with sociologists (Isard and Kavesch: 1954; Bogue and Harris: 1954).

23. Park, R.E., 'Human Communities', (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 79.

Some pioneering work was done in the demographic aspect of urbanization also which incorporated the calculation of the percentage of the World population involved in urbanization, the variations in urbanization from place to place together with causes and consequences. Davis (1957) and Hoyt (1962) made significant contributions. Much of the work on international comparisons of 'urbanization', often sponsored by the United Nations or its specialist agency UNESCO, was prompted by a concern with specific social and physical problems associated with rapid expansion of built up areas.

While the ecological school concentrated on the ecological and demographic aspects of the city structure, a few other sources evinced keen interest in investigating the social structure of the city. For sometime, investigations of urban life were made with a theoretical frame work of social dis-organization. They focussed on the personal and social problems which arise in, and contribute to, the 'disorganized atmosphere' of cities. This interest, perhaps, was generated by a spirit to reform cities with a 'value-loaded orientation' toward city and city life. The studies of Whyte (1943) and Angell (1951) represented this tradition and Louis Wirth (1938) provided the theoretical base for such a class of studies.

Rapid urbanization and its concomitants led to the examination and evaluation of social institutions. Burgess (1948) studied some of the major changes in family structure while Frazier (1937) studied the impact of urbanization on Negro

Family life. The next stage in sociological studies saw a gradual toning down of the concern with specific urban social institutions. The shift represented a return to the study of social interaction in urban settings.

The beginning in this direction was in 1943 when Burgess and Wallin (1943) studied one thousand engaged couples over a period of two years. The study's primary interest was in testing predictions of success in marriage. Of the 856 couples reporting, more than half of the men and women 'regularly attended' one or two organizations. A study by Kamarovsky (1946) of organized group affiliations of 2223 adults living in New York City found that the majority belonged to no organization. Even earlier, Chapin (1939) found that the participation scores of the higher occupational classes were as much as four times the scores of the lower or unskilled classes. In the same year a student of Chapin, Helen F. Christiansen, in a controlled study, found participation to be greater in a group with more schooling. A general conclusion of this study is that higher degrees of community and personal adjustment are associated with a higher degree of social participation in the groups and institutions of the community. W.A. Anderson (1943 and 1946) found participation to be affected by the judgment people form of their status and that of their families. Persons from the upper class families were found to be participating more, as they belonged to the organizations, held the offices, served on committees and were community leaders.

Likewise, the study found that the social participation of the individual was closely associated with the participation of the other members of the family.

The personality structure of city - dwellers is thought to be developed and changed by the nature of inter-personal relations in the city. Simmel (1957) emphasized that the exposure to constant shifts in external and internal situations renders participation difficult on an effective basis. Axelord (1956) provided data on differential social participation in formal and informal groups for a sample of the Detroit population. The findings suggest that formal group membership is less extensive and the participation less intensive than the polar ideal type of urban participation leads one to hypothesize. Substantial variations in membership and participation in organizations occur for variables which are indicators of social status.

Zimmer (1955) compared the social participation of migrants with non-migrant natives of a small city. The study revealed that both the size of the community of migrant origin and the length of stay in the community affected the level of social participation. This single case study of a community suggested, however, that the native urban pattern of participation in a community of this size was generally adopted by migrants within a period of five years of migration to the community.

Dotson's study of social participation among 50 working class families in New Haven provided further supporting evidence that formal group participation and membership were primarily middle and upper class phenomena. All persons included in the sample were American-born, and all employed adults were in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. Three fifths of the men and four fifths of the women had no affiliations with formal associations. Only church groups and few athletic associations had active participation membership.²⁴ Dotson's another study (1953) of associational affiliations of 415 adults in Guadalajara, Mexico, a city of about 300,000 revealed that two-fifths of the men and one third of the women in the sample were members of formal organizations.

Vereker and Mays (1955-56) in their study of social conditions in Central Liverpool had a striking finding to report. They reported a paucity of contacts with social organizations for all sections and in all age groups in the city. About 62 per cent households had none of their members attached to any social institutions. The Liverpool study found significant association between the length of residence in the area and attendance of members of household at the various recreative and social organizations.

24. Dotson, Floyd, 'Patterns of Voluntary Associations among Working Class Families', American Sociological Review, 16 (October 1951), pp. 687-93.

Formerly, it was taken for granted that neighbourhood life is at a minimum in cities. Recent studies of interaction in urban areas have questioned this general assumption about interaction in urban areas, pointing to data on close interpersonal relations in many urban neighbourhoods. (Axelord: 1956; Dotson: 1951; Foley: 1952). Mogeys study of two districts within Oxford (1956) provided exploratory data on the nature and problems of family and neighbourhood.

The Chicago School itself realized the persistence of a major gap in urban research in the lack of research studies on more distinctively sociological and social psychological aspects of urban life. It also realized the danger of what Burgess calls 'naive raw empiricism' at the cost of insightful abstraction. A move to correct this deficiency was made in 1961 with the establishment of the community and family study centre. The centre was established to develop a diversified program of research in urban sociology exclusive of the demographic and ecological aspects. The centre published its research proceedings in the volume, 'Contributions to Urban Sociology' (1964) and is the first in a series of monographs to emerge from the comprehensive research on the topic 'Problems of living in the metropolis'. A second report 'Skid Row in American Cities' has also been published.

This brings us to the concluding stage of the brief and selective survey of studies in urban sociology. The attempt

has been to demonstrate how the emphasis in urban research has travelled in a circular fashion to ultimately come to social interaction which can be termed as the theoretical starting point in sociology.

As far as the nature and trend of urban studies in India is concerned the picture is quite different. There is abundant data on socio-economic conditions of individual Indian Cities. Rapid urbanization in India since 1941 with its attendant problems stimulated a number of surveys and research efforts. The study of Poona (1945 and 1952) and similar other comprehensive studies conducted by the Gokhale Institute set the pattern for many of the subsequent studies. The Planning Commission of India, through its Research Programmes Committee, sponsored a number of studies on the social and economic conditions in about twenty two cities in India. These surveys of individual cities, many of them published, constitute the largest collection of materials on individual cities in any developing area.²⁵

The 1951 Census presented, for the first time, detailed data for the urban and rural population separately and the 1961 Census data on the place of birth of migrant and length of stay in the city of enumeration. Publication of this material led to a series of demographic exercises and inventory

25. Hoselitz, in his article 'A Survey of the Literature on Urbanization in India', reviews some of these studies. See Bert F. Hoselitz in Roy Turner (ed.) op.cit. p. 426

studies in India (Ghurye: 1953; Nath: 1955; Guha: 1958; Sovani: 1954; Ashish Bose: 1959 and Zachariah: 1964). In addition to these demographic studies, several regional and urban geographical studies were also undertaken (Ahmed: 1956; R.K. Singh: 1955 and 1956; D. Mukerjee: 1956; Alam: 1965 and Tiwari: 1958) and presented significant material on spatial relations, economic activity, public institutions and the relationship of the city proper with its hinterland. Hoselitz considers these studies in urban geography superior to the studies in 'urban sociology' and 'social ecology' because of the former's methodological clarity.²⁶

The major impetus to urban studies in India came from UNESCO. In 1952 it sponsored a comparative study of in-migration to cities in several South Asian Countries. These studies are published as 'The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization'² (1956), two of the five studies in the volume relate to Bombay and Delhi.²⁷

Exclusive sociological urban studies being a rarity in India, one turns back to individual city surveys and comprehensive studies on cities for sociological insights into the

26. Hoselitz, Bert F., 'A Survey of the Literature on Urbanization in India', ibid., p. 440.

27. These two studies are 'A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanization', by P.N. Prabhu and 'A Study of Floating Migration' by M.B. Deshmukh, published in 'The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, Five Studies in Asia', (UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956).

nature of urbanism in India. Some of these, such as Bopegamage's study of Delhi (1957), Venkatarayappa's study of Bangalore (1957), D'Souza's study of Chandigarh (1968) and Nirmal Kumar Bose's study of Calcutta (1964) provide significant material of largely sociological nature. But, on the whole, Indian urban studies have been characterized by a lop-sidedness in approach and uncertainty of the method employed by sociologists as contrasted with urban-geographers and demographers. Some of the specific sociological issues such as the study of urban social participation, voluntary organizations, neighbourhood interactions etc. have been largely neglected. Without studies of this nature the proper insight into urban social structure and urbanism in India is lacking and one has to fall back on Western studies for drawing theoretical and methodological leads and for inferring hypotheses to be tested under Indian conditions.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY DESIGN

Urbanism has been conceived as a way of life emerging out of the process of urbanization. In order to examine the mode of urbanism in a particular society, one has to study the life and behaviour - pattern of the urban-dwellers in its entirety. It means the study of interactions of the people in different facets, namely, family and kin groups, economic and political associations, social and cultural organizations, work and leisure, neighbourhood and friendship circles etc. It is only the summated analysis of interaction patterns in these different facets that can provide an integrated view of the prevailing urbanism. While such a broad-based study may be ideal for delineating the mode of urbanism, it is neither feasible nor manageable for a single study of this type. Such studies were attempted in the Nineteenth-thirties in America¹ with a view to seek a description of the 'total community' in the tradition of ethnography. Even these investigations were not 'total' in the sense that all aspects of human life in the community were not studied.

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1. The Community Studies undertaken in America were those of the Lynds' 'Middle Town' in 1929 (Lynd R.S. and Lynd H.M., 'Middle Town', (New York: Harcourt 1929) and Warner's Yankee City series (Warner, W.L., (Ed.) 'Yankee City' Vol. I, (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, Abridged, 1963)).

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For this study, social participation has been taken up as the base-indicator to explain the nature of urbanism at a particular place and over a particular period of time. The assumption is that social participation may be the key-variable to understanding the urban social situation in India.

Social participation may be in various social situations: participation in family and kinship groups, in groups of friends, neighbours, with caste-members, participation at work and leisure, and, participation in formal and informal associations. This being the entire canvas of social participation a further delimitation has been resorted to in order to provide a focus and a greater degree of manageability to the study. This delimitation has been exercised by operationally defining the term 'social participation'. For the purpose of this study 'social participation' has come to mean:

All activities related to the urbanite's joining formal social-cultural organizations such as the Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, recreational associations, etc., and all sorts of informal interaction in the neighbourhood, with relatives other than family members², friends, co-workers and caste people.

Thus, for this study social participation has been operationalised on two main dimensions, namely formal and informal.

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2. The study of family-interaction has been excluded in this research because of the limited and focussed nature of the enquiry. It has further been postulated that 'family interaction' can be treated as a constant as far as rural-urban settings are concerned.

The formal participation refers to the membership, attendance, financial contributions and office-holding in various socio-cultural organizations. Participation of this type has been considered to be the main characteristic of the urban-dweller and also the symbolic manifestation of the typical urban characteristics drawn from earlier studies e.g. segmental and transitory relationships, more secondary contacts, sophistication, cosmopolitanism etc. To be specific, this is the Wirthian model, an ideal - typical description of interpersonal relationships among urban inhabitants - relationships conditioned by the large size, density and heterogeneity of the population.

The other dimension is that of informal participation, which refers to the membership of friendship circles, cliques, contacts with relatives, neighbourhood participation and participation in informal groups. This informal participation is generally considered to be at its minimum in cities, (Wirth, pp. 60-63) and, this low-key of informal participation is considered to be a special characteristic of industrial urbanism (Sjobergs, 1959). But the studies conducted to verify these assumptions, have proved that urban areas have their own level and type of informal social participation which contributes significantly in the urban dweller's existence and sustenance in the city and its environs. It becomes the chief source of companionship and mutual support (Axelord; p. 13). But these studies have also indicated that this

informal participation in its nature and type assumes a typical urban syndrome and is seen to be influenced by the urban characteristics of secularism, tolerance, broad-base-relationships and accommodation. It is considered to be more need- and interest-oriented and ego-centric rather than categorical- to borrow Mitchell's³ terminology. It is the burden of this study to examine the modalities of these two types of participation under the Indian urban situation.

Rationale for the Study:

A correct or near-correct assessment of the nature and degree of social participation, as conceptualized above, may significantly indicate the nature of urbanism in its own right. It may be conceded here that 'social participation' alone may not explicate the integrated picture of urbanism, yet it may prove to be quite a significant pointer of some salient features of urbanism. A survey of the literature has indicated

3. Mitchell has outlined three types of relationships - structural, categorical and ego-centric. Structural relationships have enduring patterns of interaction and are mostly structured, i.e. norms are defined in terms of role expectations of others. Categorical relationships arise in situations whereby the nature of things, contacts are superficial and perfunctory. Here people categorize others in terms of some characteristics such as caste, religion, language etc. Ego-Centric relationships comprise of net-works of personal links, friends, relatives, etc. Mitchell talks of mutual 'feedbacks' among these categories of relationships and suggests the possibility of a succession of combinations of these relationships that may take shape in urban areas. See Mitchell, J. Clyde; 'Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies' in 'Social Anthropology of Complex Societies' (Ed.) Michale Banton', (Tavistock Publication, 1966), p. 51.

that urbanism, as a way of life may be explicated by the interplay of a few variables like length of stay in the city, socio-economic-status, education, income, occupation and the neighbourhood pattern. These are the variables which are assumed to influence social participation too. An examination and analysis of independent variables as these are associated with the dependent variable of social participation is likely to provide an analytical insight into the dynamics of urban social participation which in its turn may provide empirical and theoretical leads into the understanding of urbanism - as a way of life.

Besides, this theoretic rationale, the study of social participation carries an applied orientation too. A factual knowledge and understanding of the people's level of participation, the nature and extent of their participation, the role of formal and informal groups, the neighbourhood interaction and relationships within traditional collectivities such as caste, kin and native people may provide an adequate basis for planning the development of urban communities. The concept of community development implies broad participation by the members of the community. In fact, it is believed that the concept of community development is to be identified with or measured by the participation-base only (Nelson, Ramsey and Verner: pp.25051). Thus, the study and measurement of people's participation in urban life may be a useful indicator of a community's potentialities, structural weaknesses or strengths and its general preparedness for development and growth.

In brief, the rationale for this study of social participation may be listed as:

(i) Such a study of social participation would explicate the influence of certain important independent variables on social participation.

(ii) The understanding of the dynamics of social participation would indicate, to a considerable extent, the nature of urbanism in the Indian situation.

(iii) The study of social participation would provide an adequate planning base for any programme of urban community development.

Hypotheses:

Some of the major hypotheses, which have been tested or generated by the studies reviewed briefly in the earlier chapter, have been taken up for validation under Indian conditions. These are supplemented by a few other working hypotheses, specially developed for this study. The major hypotheses with their sources are listed as under:

(i) Greater the length of stay in cities greater would be the degree of formal participation (Verecker, C; Mays, J.B.: 1955-56).

(ii) Greater the length of stay in one particular neighbourhood higher could be the degree of neighbourhood participation. (Wendell, Bell; Force, M.T.; 1965).

- (iii) Higher the socio-economic status of the individual greater would be his formal participation. (Wendell, Bell: 1965).
- (iv) Higher the level of education, greater would be the degree of both formal and informal participation. (Goldhammer, H.: 1964).
- (v) Higher the level of income, greater would be the degree of both formal and informal participation.
- (vi) Natives participate more both formally and informally in city life than migrants. (Zimmer, B.G.: 1955-56).
- (vii) Urban migrants participate more in formal organizations than rural migrants. (Zimmer, B.G.: 1955-56).
- (viii) House owners participate more in formal organization than those who do not own. (Gullick: Bowerman and Back: 1961).
- (ix) Higher the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood greater would be the number of formal voluntary organizations and greater would be the people's participation in them. (Bell, Wendell: 1965).
- (x) Natives will have a greater average number of inter-personal contacts than migrants, particularly rural migrants. (Zimmer, B.G.: 1955-56).

Besides testing these major hypotheses the study endeavours to examine a few other allied assumptions. These assumptions find place in the literature on urban sociology and many

a times are more impressionistic than empirically verified.⁴ These assumptions, though not formulated into formal hypotheses, may still be examined in the Indian urban context. Some of these are listed as under:

- (i) Inter-personal contacts of city persons tend to be more diffused.
- (ii) Ecological features and the location of a neighbourhood also affect the degree of both formal and informal participation.
- (iii) Though extended family has lost its function as an economic producing unit, relatives continue to be an important source of companionship and mutual support.⁵

The Universe and the Sample:

The study has been conducted in the city of Kanpur. Kanpur, the industrial metropolis and a commercial entrepot, is a city of the first magnitude in this, the most populous state of the nation. It acquired this position in 1941 and has retained it ever since. Kanpur is the eighth largest city in India and the 81st in the world. Its population in 1961 was 9,71,062⁶ which today must have well passed the

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4. Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Eds.) 'Cities and Society' for example, prefacing Chapter VIII, talk of some of these characteristics associated with urban life. See Cities and Society', (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois; 1959), pp. 631-634.
 5. Axelord, Morris, 'Urban Structure and Social Participation', American Sociological Review, Vol. XXI, (1956), p. 13.
 6. Husain, I.Z., 'Demographic Projections of Kanpur Region', Paper submitted to the International Seminar on Urban and Industrial Growth of Kanpur Region, 1967, IIT Kanpur.

the million mark. A demographic projection of Kanpur city's population estimated 1.14 million people in the year 1966 and 1.34 million in 1971.⁷ The city proper has three zones: (i) the inner zone, (ii) the South-Eastern Zone, (iii) and the Western Zone. The entire city has been further distributed into 133 chaks. These chaks have been classified on the basis of the functions in which they specialize. The categories of classification are: (i) Industrial Areas, (ii) Commercial Areas, (iii) Transport Areas, and (iv) Miscellaneous service areas.⁸ Areas under the classification-category of transport are mostly non-residential. Hence three residential areas representing the rest of the three occupational categories have been selected. These areas are Babupurwa Labour Colony, Patkapur - an old city area, and, Swaroop Nagar - a post-independence rich class residential area. These three areas have functional specialization in industry, commerce and miscellaneous services, respectively. Besides occupations, the differences in density, size of population, land use and socio-economic status of the people, were other considerations motivating in the selection of these three areas. The same have been illustrated in Table II.1.

The Sample:

Since the purpose of this study is to relate social participation with a number of variables determinative of participation, the research design permits the availability

7. Special Report on Kanpur City, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XV, Part X, p. 9.

8. Ibid, pp. 80-81.

of a sufficiently large number of respondents for the purpose of analysis. However, the study has been limited to the heads of households as it has been the assumption that the head of a family or a household would be the ideal subject for measuring social participation. This implied two additional qualifying conditions: the respondent being male and an adult. Restricting the sample to only male - adults the age and sex factors in the study are somewhat controlled.

In all, 225 heads of households have been interviewed in the three residential areas, forming about 4 per cent of the total households of these areas. While purposive sampling was resorted to select the three residential areas, the households were picked up through random sampling with the help of Random Numbers Table.

Characteristics of the Sample:

The mean age of the sample population is approximately 44 years. A majority of the respondents (55.6 percent) is in the age group of 40-59 years, followed by 76 respondents (33.8 percent) in the age group of 40 years and below. Only 24 respondents (10.7 per cent) belong to the age group of 60 years and above. The Brahmins emerge to be the single largest caste group (41.8 percent) followed by Khattris (22.8 percent). Vaishya and Kayastha communities form 6.3 percent and 15.9 percent of the total sample, respectively. The rest (13.2 percent) belong to scheduled castes and backward classes. The religious break-up of the sample shows that Hindus, the majority community constitute 81.3 percent of the sample population, followed by

Basic Data on the Three Residential Areas

Residential Area	Area (Acres)	Occu- pied (hou- ses)	Total Popu- lation	No. of house- holds	Total Working Popula- tion	Industry		Trade and Commerce		Miscella- neous service		Number of Educa- ted	
						M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Pathapur	31	943	9951	2127	2865	176	607	4	672	29	1039	109	3879
Swaroop Nagar	61	548	3783	777	1119	45	275	1	176	5	531	34	950
Babupurwa Colony	248.5	3545	15.603	3599	4360	47	1579	2	315	0	2094	41	5362

M = Male

F = Female

(Source: Special Report on Kanpur City, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XV, Part X).

Muslims with 13.8 percent of the sample size. Other religious communities, i.e. Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains form only 4.9 percent of the entire sample. The distribution of the sample in the occupational categories reveals that the largest proportion of respondents (33.3 percent) is of skilled or unskilled workers. Professionals follow with 29.3 percent and 18 percent of the sample is constituted of clerks and office assistants. 11.8 percent respondents belong to trader and business occupational class and 5.9 percent are administrative officials. Only 4 respondents have been found in the category of 'industrialists'. The educational break-up of the sample shows that 23.6 per cent respondents are graduates, 23.6 percent intermediate, or matriculates and 24.9 percent have only primary or Junior high school education background. On the extremes are the post-graduates with 19.6 percent and 'illiterates' constituting 8.4 percent of the total sample. As per income distribution of the sample 37.8 percent earn more than Rs. 6000 per year, 24.9 percent are in the income group of Rs. 3601 to 6000 per year and the rest, 37.3 percent form the lower income group with an income of Rs. 3600 and less a year. A majority of respondents (73.8 percent) have a family of 4 to 8 members. Only 8 percent respondents have larger families with 9 or more members while 14.2 percent have a family of 3 members or even less.

In the sample of this study 167 respondents (74.2 percent) are in-migrants and only 58 (25.8 percent) respondents

are natives of the city of Kanpur. The distribution of the sample by the length of stay in Kanpur indicates that 66.2 percent respondents have been living in the city for more than 20 years, 18.7 percent between 10 to 20 years, 10.2 percent for 5 to 10 years and only 4.9 percent for less than 5 years.

The Independent Variables in the Study:

What is the form and content of urban social participation? For a satisfactory answer to this question, one should look into, as far as possible, all the variables that are likely to influence urban social participation, particularly those variables which have entered into the formulation of the hypotheses of this study. The variables considered important and determinative of urban social participation are:

- (i) Length of stay in the city.
- (ii) The socio-economic status.
- (iii) The regional, caste and religious characteristics.
- (iv) The type and ecology of the residential area.

Length of Stay in the City:

Length of stay in the city has been considered an important variable in the urbanisation of the behaviour pattern of an individual in the city. In a way, it is the basic factor which defines the city-dwellers' extent of

'urban exposure', his 'contact and feel' of the urban environment and his reactions and 'reflexes' toward urban institutions. Several studies of the West have indicated the determinative influence of the length of stay in a city in shaping the level and quality of urban social participation (Axelord: 1956; Bell: 1965). These studies have demonstrated that the urban dweller's length of stay is positively associated with his degree of social participation. There is every reason to assume that this variable exerts its determinative influence in shaping urban participation in the Indian context too. Two broad categories of this variable have been formulated, namely:

- (i) Length of stay in the city of Kanpur - the main concern of this study.
- (ii) Length of stay in cities other than Kanpur.

The data on 'the length of stay in the city' have been further supplemented by the information regarding the size of the town in which the respondents stayed. The dichotomous line between the small and big towns is drawn on the basis of population. Towns with more than one lakh population are treated as big towns.

(11) The Socio-Economic Status of Respondents:

Almost all the available studies have shown that urban participation is functionally dependent on the socio-economic status of the individual. These studies (Axelord: 1956;

Dotson: 1951; Komarovsky: 1946) have pointed out a consistent pattern of people of high socio-economic-status participating more in formal organizations, associations and other bodies. A three dimensional and eight point socio-economic status scale, designed on the pattern envisaged by Srole⁹, with some modifications, has been applied in this study to secure a measure of the socio-economic-status. These three dimensions are:

- (i) Occupation
- (ii) Education
- (iii) Income.

(iii) The Regional, Caste and Religious Characteristics:

The regional-cultural factor has been held almost constant by restricting the study to respondents living in Kanpur, yet a section of the sample, eluded this restriction as they originated from other areas and parts of the country, and had migrated to and settled in Kanpur, either temporarily or permanently. These included Bengalis, Maharashtrians, South Indians and Punjabis. It has been assumed that this diversity of cultural backgrounds may illuminate the limit to which participation is culture-bound. The sample includes majority and the minority communities. While roughly, 82 percent of the sample is formed

9. Srole Leo, 'Anomia in Urban Areas, American Sociological Review, Dec. 56, pp. 709-16.

of Hindus - the majority community, the rest is made up of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Religion, by itself may not exercise much influence in determining the nature and extent of social participation, yet, it may provide some insight into the qualitative nature of urban social participation.

Caste has played and is still playing a dominant role in segmentalising and shaping the behaviour of an individual. There is every reason to believe that it might be determinative in shaping the social participation of the urbanite too. The caste categories were valid for Hindus only and included: Untouchables, Scheduled Castes, Kayasthas, Vaishyas, Khatris, Kshatriyas and Brahmins. The idea behind incorporating all these caste categories in the sample was to highlight the caste-equation of urban social participation and to examine if urban social participation cuts across the boundaries of caste.

(iv) The Type and Ecology of the Residential Area:

The type and location of the residential areas have been considered important factors in determining the nature and extent of an individual's social participation. In this study, three residential areas of the Kanpur Metropolis are selected. While the selection is based primarily on their functional categories, care has been taken to select areas which represent different locational and ecological categories too. Thus, the study concentrates on,

- (i) An old residential area of the city, located in the inner zone and near the Central Business District (Patkapur).
- (ii) A new and post-independence residential area, located in the outer zone of the city (Swaroop Nagar).
- (iii) A fringe area of the city about 4 miles away from the Central Business District (Babupurwa).

The idea behind this kind of selection has been to isolate the ecological determinants in shaping the urban participation by keeping other independent variables constant without succumbing to the dangers of ecological determinism. This has been attempted at the analysis stage of the study.

The Dependent Variable in the Study:

'Urban social participation' has been conceived as the dependent variable in this study. It involves many aspects and dimensions which put together form the summated image of 'Ideal' urban social participation or participant. The study's concern in measuring participation and mapping out its various dimensions, necessitate a spelling out of the various indicators of participation. As far as formal participation is concerned it is relatively easy to list the indicators. The membership of various kinds of organizations i.e. local, regional, national or international type of these organisations i.e. secular, sectarian or mixed; the type of membership e.g. life membership, voting membership, partial

membership, etc.; functional classification of organizations e.g. recreational, economic, professional, religious or fraternal, etc.; attendance at meetings, frequency of attendance; contributing money to organisations besides the membership contributions; membership on special committees and holding of offices etc. have been considered as potential indicators of formal participation.

For informal participation, indicators cannot be as specific and quantifiable as for formal participation. Yet an attempt has been made to quantify them as far as possible. For informal participation, indicators have been the number of friends in the city, in the neighbourhood, frequency of contacts with friends, nature of contacts etc.; number of relatives in the city, frequency and nature of contacts; neighbourhood life, number of neighbours having greeting relations only, formal relations, intimate relations, frequency of contacts and nature of contacts; number of co-workers with whom contacts exist, frequency and nature of contacts etc.

The above listing of the entire gamut of urban social participation will suggest that an attempt has been made of mapping out the range, both qualitative and quantitative, of urban social participation.

Key Concepts: Definition and Explanation:

I. Participation: In this study participation has been treated as the main dependent variable. It denotes all

those actions or dispositions for action that reflect an individual's interest, concern or identification for an organization, programme, group etc. As specified earlier, this participation has two main dimensions - formal and informal. The formal participation refers to the membership, attendance, financial contributions and office-holding of different socio-cultural organisations and has been considered to be the main characteristic of the urban man, (Wirth: 1939).

Informal participation refers to the membership of friendship circles, cliques, neighbourhood participation and participation in informal interest groups. This informal participation is generally considered to be at its minimum in cities though recent studies have shown that urban areas have their own type and level of informal participation which functions as a significant source for companionship, mutual support and sustenance to city life., (Axelord: 1956; Bott: 1957).

While theoretically, the concept of 'participation' is likely to provide insight into a significant aspect of urban life, operationally it may serve as the base-indicator of urban community development programme. The concept of community development implies a broad participation base. As a matter of fact the concept is identified by the participation-base. Similarly, the concept of democracy is more

directly measured by social participation than by any other single variable, provided a wider view of participation is taken.

II. Neighbourhood: Neighbourhood, for this study, has been defined as a small community, usually a Mohalla or a chak (census-tract), characterised by a limited area, common sharing of certain services and amenities and sufficient physical proximity to develop personal face to face relations. For this study, the operational use of this concept is closer to that of Glass¹⁰ and involves not simply a grouping of people in a unit convenient for certain services and amenities - but also as a unit small enough to encourage a neighbourhood spirit and at the same time large enough to be relatively self-contained.

III. Voluntary Organisations:¹¹ Voluntary organisations or associations have been defined for this study as those more or less formally organised groups whose membership is by choice or individual volition. Such a definition includes social clubs, interest groups, professional associations, cultural bodies etc.

Sociologists have long recognized a correlation between urbanisation and the development of voluntary associations.

10. Glass, D.V.; 'The Application of Social Research' British Journal of Sociology, (1950), Vol. I, p. 20.

11. The terms 'Voluntary Organization' and 'Voluntary Association' have been used, interchangeably in this study.

The assumption has been that urbanization as a social process consists of a progressive displacement of 'primary' by 'Secondary' groups in the social structure. Simmel had postulated that urbanization has a two-fold aspect from the socio-psychological stand point: individuation of the personality on the one hand and the multiplication of social groups on the other.¹²

IV. Urbanization: The concept of 'urbanization' has been used in this study in a sense similar to that of Mitchell. Mitchell refers to urbanization as being the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agricultural occupations to other pursuits common to cities and corresponding change in behaviour patterns.¹³

V. Urbanism: The concept of urbanism has been used in this study in the Wirthian sense, to indicate a way of life, typical of urban areas. Wirth has pointed out that this way of life is characterized by such social features as segmental and transitory role relationship, more secondary contacts, secularism etc. and caused by such features of urbanization as size, density and heterogeneity of population.¹⁴

It has been realized that such a definition of the concept is largely valid for only Western Societies and its

12. Spykman, N.J., 'Social Theory of Georg Simmel' (Chicago: 1925), pp. 191-192.

13. Mitchell, J. Clyde, 'Urbanization, Detribalization and Stabilization in Southern Africa: A Problem of Definition and Measurement', (Report of the International African Institute, London), p. 693.

14. Wirth, Louis, op. cit. p.54.

application in this study would be more as an ideal-type construct to facilitate the comprehension of the Indian urban way of life.

Method of Study:

The overall methodological orientation of this study has been influenced by the trait-complex approach¹⁵, an approach which employs empirical attributes or variables which are presumed to be causally connected. Although the study is non-experimental but designed to test causal hypotheses to a certain extent. Substitutes have been found for the safeguards that are built into experimental studies. Many of these safeguards have entered at the time of planning data collection, in the forms of providing for the gathering of informations about a number of variables that might be alternative determinants of the dependent variable. By introducing these additional variables into the analysis, the study has approximated some of the controls that are inherent in experimental studies. However, the main burden of the study remains to establish association between two variables without following a rigorous experimental design. The study has sought to establish the co-associates of urban

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15. Hatt and Reiss in their introduction to the first section of papers in 'Cities and Society' discuss three major approaches to the analysis of urban phenomena which are used in sociological description and analysis of urban phenomena. They are the ideal type community approach, the trait-complex approach and the rural-urban continuum approach. These approaches represent recognisable distinctive emphasis in methods of analysing the city life. Hatt and Reiss, op. cit. pp. 17-18.

social participation - the key dependent variable in this study.

Preparation of the Study Tool-Schedule:

In this study a number of variables have been defined and operationalized for measurement. Though the general orientation has been empirical and statistical, the analysis has been carried out in depth and supplemented by qualitative data wherever possible. A schedule was developed for the purposes of interviewing and for the collection of participation data. The schedule consisted of nine main parts which included, in sequential order, questions on residential information; in-migration, occupational pattern; leisure-time activities; formal participation; informal participation; neighbourliness scale; socio-economic-status scale, informal and formal participation scales and identification data about respondents. The schedule contained a total of 70 questions. Most of the responses to the questions were structured and pre-coded though a number of open-ended questions were also included in the schedule.¹⁶

Scales:

A characteristic feature of the structured research tool constructed for this study has been the inclusion of

16. A copy of the schedule has been appended in the Appendix for detailed examination. See Appendix A.

four measurement scales to attempt the measurement of urban social participation and its related variables. Each of these scales have been discussed briefly in what follows.

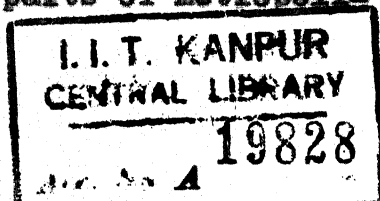
I. Neighbourliness Scale:

This scale is a modified version of Jessie Bernard's 'Neighbouring Practices Scale'.¹⁷ The variable measured is the relative amount of neighbouring by different kinds of people in different parts of the city. The scale consists of 10 questions related to neighbouring practices and each question has four-point responses which have been assigned different values. On the basis of these values item - total scale scores have been obtained. Thus each respondent has secured a neighbourliness score ranging from five to fifty. In order to test the validity of the scale and standardizing it, inter-item correlations have been secured.

II. Informal Participation Scale:

It is a four-point scale formulate to get a summary measure of informal participation as a whole. To obtain this measure responses to each of the questions on relatives, neighbours, friends and co-workers have been summed up. Each response has been coded from 1 to 5 according to the frequency of contacts. The final distribution of summated

17. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation by Jessie S. Bernard, titled 'An Instrument for the measurement of neighbourhood with experimental Application', Dr. Bernard's Standardization was done in various parts of metropolitan St. Louis.



scores has been classified into three categories to indicate low, medium and high degree of informal participation.

III. Socio-Economic Status Scale:

A three dimensional and 8 points scale has been patterned after Leo Srole's Scale to measure the socio-economic status of respondents. The three dimensions are Occupation, Education and Income. Items on these three dimensions have been arranged in a descending order and similarly the weightages also descend from 8 to 1. The scores on these three dimensions are added together to get a summated socio-economic-status score for the respondent. The maximum score in the scale is 24, the minimum score 3 and the range 21.

IV. Formal Participation Scale:

For measuring the degree of formal participation Chapin's Social Participation Scale¹⁸ has been applied to the Indian situation. It is a general scale of participation in voluntary organizations of all kinds, professional, civil and social. The scale is of Guttman-type with reproducibility coefficients of .92 to .97 for group of leaders. The five components of the scale are (i) membership, (ii) attendance, (iii) financial contributions, (iv) membership of committees and (v) offices-held. Final scores are computed

18. The Scale is published in P. Stuart Chapin, 'Experimental Designs in Sociological Research', (New York, Harper, 1955).

by counting each membership as one, each attended as two, each contributed as 3, each committee membership as 4 and each office-held as 5. The final score is taken as an index of formal participation.

Pretesting:

The schedule was pretested on a representative sample of respondents in the three residential areas. A sample of 15 heads of households was interviewed and a preliminary analysis was made, to critically examine various items of the schedule, their form, content and ordering. Some questions were modified and a few new ones were also added.

Interviewing:

Once the respondent was located he was informed that his views were wanted on certain questions of city and mohalla living and whether he would spare about 45 minutes for the interview. While interviewing the emphasis was on making respondent feel free and relaxed. In a few cases there were apprehensions in the minds of respondents where the investigator was mistook as a Housing Inspector, Income-tax official or a Census man.

Data Analysis:

The entire data processing was done on the Institute Computer IBM 7044. The computer programmes were obtained

from BMD programmes¹⁹ and the Institute Computer Centre Library. Extensive use of Chi-square tests of significance has been made to establish associational relationships between the variables relevant for the study. Some correlational analysis has also been made though it has been only partly utilised in the study. Correlational analysis has been largely utilised in purifying and standardizing the measurement scale, and supporting the associational relationships obtained through Chi-square tests.

The Time Schedule:

The research plan and the design was finalised by August 1968. The construction of research tools was undertaken during the period of September, 1968 to November 1968. The data were collected from Dec. 68 to March 1969 and were processed between April 1969 and June 1969. The final phase of report writing took six months and ended by August 1970. Thus on the whole the study was phased and spread over a period of two years.

19. Dixon, M.J., 'BMD, Bio-Medical Computer Programmes, Health Sciences Computing Facilities, (University of California, Los Angeles, USA, 1965).

CHAPTER III

THE SETTING: KANPUR AND THE THREE RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Kanpur, an industrial metropolis and a commercial entrepot, is a city of the first magnitude in Uttar Pradesh—the most populous state of the nation. Kanpur stands in the fertile central plain of the Upper Ganga Valley on the right bank at a height of 125.6 kilometres above the sea level, approximately in 26° 28'N latitude and 80°21' E longitude. The city is situated 435 kilometres to the south-east of Delhi, 72 kilometres to the south-west of Lucknow and 192 and 1007 kilometres to the north-west of Allahabad and Calcutta respectively.

The city of Kanpur does not lay claim to a hoary past nor has its roots in mythology. It had a modest beginning during the last quarter of the 19th century in the shape of a small village. Tripathi and Arora (1950) hold that the origin of Kanpur dates back to much earlier times.¹ Whatever may be the origin, it is evident that the site of the present industrial city was but a conglomeration of a few small villages. These villages were Old Kanpur, Kursawan, Patkapur, Juhi and Sisamau. The District Gazetteer traces the growth of Kanpur from the days of East India Company's contacts with the city.

1. Tripathi, L.K. and Arora, N.D. (Eds.) 'Kanpur Ka Itihas', (Kanpur Itihas Samiti, Patkapur, Kanpur, 1950), p. 7.

The city grew and prospered under the benevolent rule of Almas Ali Khan (1773 to 1801 A.D.), a Subedar of the Nawab of Oudh. Trade gathered momentum and merchants poured in from Etawah, Farrukhabad, Kannauj, Lucknow, Unnao, Hamirpur, Fatehpur, Mirzapur and Jahanabad to establish business in cloth, oil and general provisions. The favourable situation of Kanpur for trade and commerce prompted the East India Company to establish a trade centre at this place. In 1778, a cantonment was set-up to protect the English Merchantile Community. This army camp was referred to as 'Kampoo' in the colloquial terminology and Kanpur is still known by this name to many people in the countryside.

With the stationing of the army at Kanpur, there grew a demand for various kinds of merchandise i.e. food stuffs, cloth and leather goods. The first year of the nineteenth century saw the transfer of Kanpur from the Nawab of Oudh to the British. Soon after the secession the East India Company built a factory for the manufacture of indigo and expanded its commercial and industrial activities.

Kanpur played a notable role in the uprising of 1857 and was the centre where Nana Sahib rallied the Indian forces against the British. The city was reduced to shambles during this bitter conflict between the British and the nationalist forces. After the restoration of the peace, the British Government assumed direct control, thus ending the rule of the East India Company. With this started the phase of reconstruction.

The first railway link was established in 1859 and thorough traffic with Delhi and Calcutta in 1866. The installation of the first cotton mill in Kanpur - The Elgin Cotton Spinning and Wearing Co. Ltd. was made in 1861, followed by the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory in 1863, Muir Mills in 1874, the Cooper Allen and Co. in 1880, the Cawnpore Cotton Mills in 1882, the Cawnpore Sugar Works in 1894 and the North-West Tannery in the year 1900. The most significant factor in the origin and development of industries in Kanpur has been 'military operations'. The two World-Wars rendered phenomenal impetus to the city's industrialization.

Initially, the European entrepreneurs dominated the industrial scene of Kanpur. After the first World-War, Indian entrepreneurs emerged on the industrial scene. The earlier phase of industrialization, prior to 1940, was characterized by the setting up of agro-based and consumer oriented industries. After 1940, greater emphasis was laid on non-traditional industries based on metals, minerals and chemicals.

In the wake of this growing industrial and commercial activity, the population of the city continued to register constant increase. In the decade 1911-1921 it registered an increase of 21.21 percent and in the decade 1921-31 an increase of 12.62 percent. During 1931-41, the population of the city almost doubled itself. This phenomenal increase was caused

by the Second World War which boosted the city's industrial and commercial climate thereby attracting lot of migrants from outside. The population increase during the decades 1941-51 (44.75 percent) and 1951-61 (37.66 percent) largely account for the expansion of the municipal limits of the city.

The rapid and constant rise in the population of the city was accompanied by an almost proportionate rise in the density of population. The density of population in the Kanpur Municipal area was 21,534 persons per square mile in 1901 which rose to 54,649 persons per square mile in 1941. The rise was caused by the sudden influx of population in the beginning of Second World War. It resulted in grave overcrowding conditions in the city and the proliferation of slums. In 1948 about 125,000 persons were living in Ahatas possessing less than 34,000 rooms, many of them were not fit for living.² The city has continued to register increase in the density of population and it was reported to be 73,920 persons per square mile in the year 1901.

The continued rise in population affected the expansion of the city's boundaries also. The areas of Nawabganj, Gutaiya and Juhi were included within the municipal limits of the city and the city area grew from 21.45 square kilometres in 1901 to 262 square kilometres in 1959. The expansion of the civil area has been accompanied by the development of some old residential areas and the emergence of new residential areas. The

2. Special Report on Kanpur City, op. cit., p. 37.

old areas of Nawabganj, Colonelganj and Sisemanu were developed and new areas like Talak Nagar, Swaroop Nagar, Warsha Nagar, Shastri Nagar, etc. have come up recently.

The Kanpur town group is divided into one ^{hundred} thirty three chaks (Census-Tracts) and Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika (Municipal Corporation) does not include cantonment, Chakeri Aerodrome, Armapur Estate, Central Ordnance Depot and Rawatpur Station Yard. The old complaint of hypertrophied cantonment and atrophied civil area³ is no more valid as the civil area has completely engulfed the cantonment and railway areas.

Kanpur, though developed during the British period, does not, however, show the happy blending exhibited by the port cities of Bombay and Madras. As a matter of fact, it shows a haphazard urban development characteristics of medieval cities, having a clearly distinguishable city proper, and the comparatively modernized civil station, new residential areas and the labour colonies. In its mixed morphology, the city proper has closely built ill-shaped multi-storied structures with narrow lanes. The bazars are crowded with innumerable whole sale and retail shops. The average density of persons per household in occupation of one room is 3.75 leading to great congestion and sub-standard living conditions.

3. Majumdar, D.N., 'Social Contours of an Industrial City', (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960), p. 12.

The 1961 Census has shown the following functional categories of the city.⁴

Industrial Areas:

(i) North-Eastern areas between the Mahatma Gandhi and Nawabganj roads on one side and the Ganges on the other; (ii) Extreme corner down the river (Jajmau); (iii) Areas to the South of the Cotton Mills and Kalpi Road.

Commercial Areas:

Both sides of the important roads e.g. Birhana Road, Weston Road, Mall Road and La-Touche Road. Some of the marketing centres are located in General Ganj, Naya Ganj, Collector Ganj and Naveen Market.

Transport Areas:

The three railway colonies outside Nagar Mahapalika, Shuturkhana, Collector Ganj, Cooper Ganj, - all closer to the Kanpur Central Railway Station and Juhi-Hamirpur Road.

Miscellaneous Service Areas:

Scattered all over the city - particularly Gutaiya and localities like Tilak Nagar and Swaroop Nagar.

The brief write-up on Kanpur, highlighting its history, growth and urbanization trends, suggests that from an insignificant cluster of villages it has assumed the prized status

4. Special Report on Kanpur City, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

of a metropolis. It has been evident that the city of Kanpur has all the characteristic features of an urban settlement. It has grown tremendously in size, population, density and heterogeneity. The highly mixed land-use has played its residential areas also which are surrounded by various functional areas outlined above. The ensuing discussion on the three specific residential areas, selected for this study, will illustrate the point.

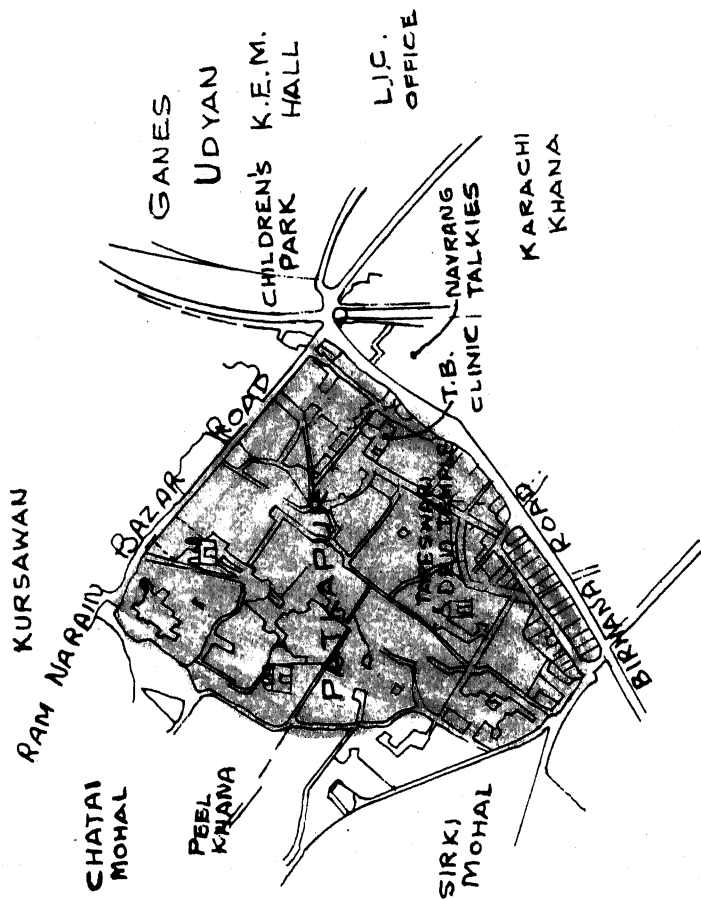
The Social Structure of the Three Residential Areas:

The residential areas or neighbourhoods form the immediate environment of the city's people and reflect the needs of the people, their organisations, associations, service agencies and the problems they face—all localized with particular characteristics in the neighbourhoods of a city.

In this part of the chapter, special structural features of the three residential areas will be discussed. While highlighting these special features the emphasis will be on reviewing them in a comparative frame. The speciality and comparability of these residential areas will help in analysing social participation as the function of its structural correlates. The discussion of structural features of these residential areas would broadly include early history, composition and characteristics of population, class and status, institutions, and associations, occupational functions, social relationships and neighbourhood life etc.

MAP II

PATKAPUR



1. Patkapur:

Patkapur was one of the many villages that constituted the city of Kanpur, and as such is, historically, older than the city itself. A part of the present Kanpur is made of old Kanpur, Patkapur, Kursawan, Juhi and Sisa-mau villages.⁵ The present Patkapur was old 'Pathakpur' inhabiting a number of Pathak Brahmin families though none of their descendants is now traceable. The old families of Patkapur belong to the Kanyakubja subcaste of Brahmins and trading communities of Omar Vaishyas. The old Patkapur was a Zamindari Village and Tahsil headquarter of Muslim Nawabs which explains the existence of the Muslim pocket of Patkapur with 300 and odd families. Patkapur was known for its 'Ahatas',⁶ some of these are still existent. In 1935, Birhana Road Scheme was started and many of these 'Ahatas' were demolished. Even now this residential area has about 15 small Ahatas and three big Ahatas inhabiting a large number of in-migrant labour force and creating near slum conditions. Some of the famous Ahatas of Patkapur are Nawab Sahab Ka Ahata, Daroga Ka Ahata, Nawal

5. Tripathi, L.K., op. cit., pp. 73-74.

6. 'Ahatas' of Kanpur are equivalents of Katras, Chawls, Bastees, Juggies and Cherais, names given to slums in different cities of India. These are small single-room tenements, normally constructed in rows within large courtyards or enclosures having single entrances. They often house as many as eighty to hundred families apiece. These small, dingy rooms are usually extremely unsanitary and overcrowded.

Kishore Jain Ka Ahata, Aga Ahata and Banarsi Das Ka Ahata etc.

With the stationing of British troops at Parade, in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, Patkapur and neighbouring 'Mohallas' grew in significance. There rose a demand for various kinds of merchandise giving impetus to trade. Families of traders and commercial class, uprooted from Bindki, Jahanabad, Fatehpur and other places in-migrated to Kanpur and started their provision stores. One of them was Ram Narain Khatri on whose name the street and the market is known. This 'Ram Narain Bazar' demarcates Patkapur from Kursawan, another old Mohalla of Kanpur. On the other side, Birhana Road fences off the residential area from the commercial area.

Patkapur adjoins the Central Business District of Kanpur metropolis and as such has all the characteristics of such a residential area. It has a high proportion of multi-family dwellings, intense traffic and congestion. Public parks and play-grounds are in relatively, very low ratio to the population. This residential area falls in the 'Inner Zone' of the city and constitutes a part of the chaks of this zone having density of more than 550 persons per acre. It also forms a part of the region which has been classified as 'Commercial Area on the basis of the functions in which it specialises.⁷ Thus this residential

7. Special Report on Kanpur City, op. cit., p. 81.

area is surrounded by big markets, trade-houses, Banks, Insurance Companies, Hotels, Cinemas etc. The high density has resulted in residential crowding. Houses are mostly under 'Trusteeship' and in very dilapidated conditions. Repairs and renovations are rare and new constructions still rarer. Particularly, the houses available to the low-income groups are very old, depleted and sub-standard. The middle-income group is in a perennial search for better housing but a majority, predominantly the natives, prefer to continue living in this area.

A surprising feature is that the locality, surrounded by intense urban environment from all sides, is maintaining the old traditional and, to some extent, feudal and rural characteristics. One may be tempted to call Patkapur and its neighbouring Mohallas as 'rural-cum-feudal small town Islands' in the vast metropolis. The locality with its dense surroundings, narrow lanes, Eighteenth Century dwellings and amenities resemble any pre-industrial city characterised by Sjoberg. About 70 percent houses are one storeyed only and most of the houses have wells, though a majority of these is not used. A typical case is that of 'Chamar Tola', a cluster of about 25 houses, mostly mud-constructions. Most of the residents of this 'Tola' are Harness and Saddlery Factory workers and only a few are continuing with their original caste occupations - an urban influence indeed.

The population of this old residential area is composed of stable, middle-class or lower middle-class people, white collar workers, small shopkeepers and industrial workers. The occupational pattern reflects a typical heterogeneity within the broad occupational grouping of 'miscellaneous services. These are office clerks, bank employees, Life Insurance Corporation field workers, petty shopkeepers, printing press owners, rickshaw pullers, hoteliers and nanbaies (bakers), self-employed artisans and renteers. A sizeable number is of members of various 'professions' (37 percent in the sample) i.e. doctors, lawyers, teachers, chartered accountants, etc.

On account of the composition of the population, Patkaur is a 'mixed' locality. The centre and the heart of this residential area is inhabited by Brahmins and is popularly known as 'Brahmachatta'. On the East of this centre are mainly Kayastha families and this part is known as 'Kayasthana'. The North-West of the locality is inhabited by Muslims and Sindhis. The latter are of more recent origin, mostly refugees occupying houses and property evacuated by Muslims who left for Pakistan in the wake of the partition and there-after. On the South-West and South are the famous 'Ahatas' and settlements of scheduled castes and backward classes. The South-Eastern side is mainly inhabited by Khatries and Vaishya Business Community which is gradually spreading over the other parts of the locality too.

This being the general break-up one can always find a sprinkling of all castes through out the locality, excepting Muslims who have tended to concentrate in one part which is exclusively a 'Muslim Pocket'. This pocket, inhabited by roughly 300 families is practically cut-off from the rest of the locality and is characterised by class polarities. A few handful are very rich while the vast majority is very poor. Nawab Sahab Ka Ahata illustrates this polarity glaringly. While on the one hand it has the traditionally luxurious 'Haveli' of the descendants of Agha Mir, the Prime Minister of the Nawab of Oudh, on the other it houses about 100 low class, Muslim families living in slum conditions. The Muslims of this area are mostly illiterate, a few are in skilled jobs while others are rickshaw pullers, washermen and construction workers. Educated unemployment is quite common and the community in general gives the impression of being much more economically hard pressed than the majority of the members of the residential area.

Politically Patkapur is a 'conscious' locality. Patia-Politics or 'Chabutara Politics'⁸ as people call it is the common pastime. Since the 1857 struggle for freedom, this locality has been known for its militant nationalists and revolutionaries. In the British records, Patkapur was famous for

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8. 'Chabutaras' are slightly raised and projected platforms generally found in front of the shops and residential dwellings of the older type. A casual visitor to this locality may find people crowded on these 'Chabutaras', playing chess, cards, sharing newspapers, discussing politics or simply gossiping.

its revolutionaries. One can trace the history from the old revolutionaries of 1930-31 to the neo-communist movement of this decade. Political movement has been related to the working class and the locality has a number of trade union leaders. During the mid-term elections in 1968 the locality was almost on fire, charged with political enthusiasm, propaganda and all that is a part of electioneering. While a congress candidate from this locality won the constituency seat for the State Assembly, one could easily markout the pro-left swing in the political loyalties.

Religion has a strong foundation in the locality though gradually it is losing its fervour. There are about 10 Trusts and Charitable Endowments in Patkapur running temples and allied religious activities. Tapeshwari Devi Temple is of great significances not only for the residents of this locality but for outsiders as well. One finds here a typically tribal mode of worship as the object of worship is a piece of 'Patia' or 'Chakki', an indigenous grinding machine. It is here that a huge 'Mela' - a religious fair is organised twice a year (March-April and September-October) which is known as Tapeshwari Devi Navaratri Mela. A conservative estimate puts the number of visitors to this fair at about 2 Lakhs. The fair is a star attraction to the ladies of the locality and the city. Dhanush Yagya, Ram Lila, Dadhi Kandan and a prolonged Holi celebration are other important religious features of this locality.

The history, physical structure and other characteristics tend to converge upon the neighbourhood life. And, as this study is going to establish, Patkapur is still maintaining to a considerable extent its distinct character of community life and close, harmonious, gemeinschaft type of social relations. Even tenants are pretty old and have become 'Patkapurias'. A close familiarity and fraternity exists among the inhabitants inspite of the busier routines and economic hardships. Tenancy, immigration and education can be listed as the main factors threatening an erosion of the old community life. Yet the locality gives the impression of braving this onslaught. The whole of Patkapur is under slum clearance scheme of the Corporation but, one wonders if any planning can provide such close-knit and generally harmonious community life.

The locality is rich in having neighbourhood-based voluntary associations, cultural bodies and sports clubs but many of these organisations are almost defunct or only partially active. The 'Bal Sabha', a primarily child welfare organisation has taken up some cultural and recreational activities too, and, enjoys community support and popularity. Patkapur is famous for its old Akharas (Wrestling houses) drawing their vast membership from the neighbourhood and the adjoining areas. Some of the famous Akharas are Maha Narain Ka Akhara, Bihari Ji Ka Akhara, and Rani Mohal Akhara. Another variety of traditional associational activity can be located in the persistence of a number of religious trusts and charitable endowments. These Trusts have ample financial resources

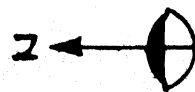
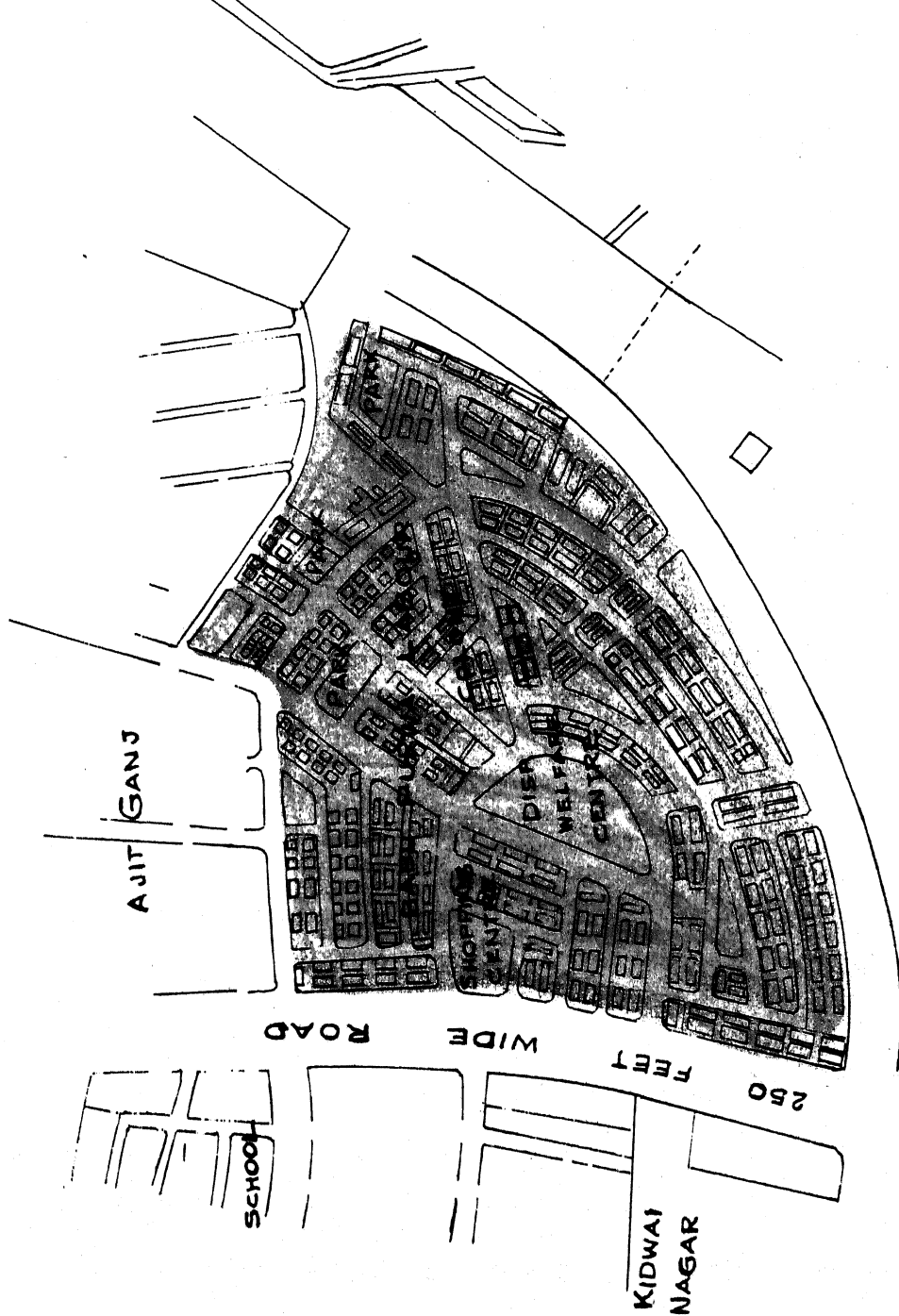
with them and run various kinds of religious, educational and charitable services. Some of the famous trusts are Bihari Ji Ka Trust, Kherapati Trust, Maha Narain Trust, etc. Kanya Kubja Sabha, Kayastha Youngmen Association and Khatri Samaj are three main caste-oriented associations representing three major caste-groups of Patkapur. These bodies render some useful though, limited service to their community members but are generally more active during civic or general elections. Largely, the welfare and cultural scene of Patkapur is dominated by these traditional 'Akharas', trusts and caste associations. Newly emergent cultural and sports bodies have neither stability nor appeal for a broad-based membership.

Babupurwa Labour Colony:

The Babupurwa colony residential area is of a relatively, recent origin. It is a housing colony built by the State Government and is a huge 'Public-enterprise'⁹ residential area with 3390 quarters. The whole colony is divided into 362 Blocks each block having six, eight or twelve quarters. Each circle is supervised by a Housing Inspector who collects the rent and

9. The Colony was constructed under the U.P. Industrial Housing Act of 1955 which was enforced on June 15, 1957. Under the Act, a Housing Commissioner was appointed under the State Labour Ministry. The State Government undertook the construction of houses for industrial workers under the 'Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme'. As per the Scheme, the Govt. of India has provided 50 percent as out right subsidy and 50 percent as loan to the State Government for building houses for eligible categories of workers. Generally all the workers falling within the meaning of Section 2(1) of the Factories Act, 1948, are eligible for these houses. Babupurwa Colony is the fruit of such an endeavour.

BABU PURWA



supervises the general living in the colony. A house in the colony is generally allotted to an eligible worker who is charged the 'subsidised monthly rent' which comes to Rs. 10 approximately. In case of houses being unoccupied allotment can be made to ineligible persons of certain other categories¹⁰ who have to pay the 'economic rent' which comes to Rs. 17.50 per month.

Babupurwa Colony provides well-structured and standardised housing for its residents with all the modern amenities desirable to lower and lower-middle class people. The houses are well-built, open and spacious and provided with electricity and flush latrines. Residential blocks are properly spaced. The city corporation has arranged for the roads, streetlights, parks, marketing centres and schools, etc. The Labour Department of the State Government runs a well equipped welfare centre and a community hall. The colony is the terminus of the city transport service and thus provides an easy link with the centre of the city. In brief, it is a kind of 'dreamland' for the working class community so far as physical amenities are concerned. It will be interesting to find out as to what kind of social interaction is being generated out of this 'planned' and structured residential area.

10. These include staff members of the Labour Commissioner's Office, railway employees and defence personnel other than factory workers.

A majority, of the residents of this colony (about 60 percent) is composed of industrial workers. Industry-wise, the largest number is of the defence employees working in the Central Ordnance Depot, Small Arms Factory and Parachute Factory. Then follow the workers of Swadeshi Cotton Mill, Harness and Saddlery Factory, Lal Imli, Elgin II, Cooper Allen, etc. Besides industrial workers a sizeable proportion (about 40 percent) is of non-industrial workers. These include employees of Labour Department, Railways, Post and Telegraph, U.P. State Roadways, Directorate of Industries, Flying Club and Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd.

The residents of this locality are predominantly in-migrants (About 90 percent). Among the in-migrants too the greater proportion is of rural in-migrants who have been forced out of their village homes for economic, family or other reasons. Most of these rural in-migrants are from Uttar Pradesh only and mainly come from Kanpur or its neighbouring districts i.e. Unnao, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Faizabad, Hamirpur, Pratapgarh, Barabanki etc. An exception is that of a sizeable chunk of industrial workers who have in-migrated from far-eastern districts of U.P. i.e. Gorakhpur, Banda, Ballia and Gonda, etc. The urban in-migrants have almost a national representation though Bengalis and Punjabis are in greater proportion to the natives of other States.

Most of the residents particularly, the rural-in-migrants have shifted to this colony from the deteriorated

areas of the inner-zone of the city. These areas are Rail Bazar, Hula Ganj, Chaman Ganj, Maida Bazar, A.B. Road, Sisaman, Ajit Ganj and Gadarla Mohal etc. Thus, they have been exposed to the metropolitan life of the blighted areas and hence find the life in the colony 'physically' more congenial and comfortable. But they are not very happy with the 'social' aspect of living in this locality and are, generally, nostalgic about the rich and better community life in the 'slum areas' of the city. Many of the residents are still maintaining links with these areas.

In spite of the cultural and regional diversities the physical lay-out of the residential area and its ecological structuring have affected neighbourly ties, both formal and informal. The 'neighbourhood' seems to be limited to the blocks on the same street and the block is more significant unit of neighbourhood interaction. Here, intimate contacts are with those neighbours who are co-workers also and neighbourliness cuts across the boundaries of caste and regional loyalties. Neighbourliness, on the whole, seems to be the function of co-working and physical proximity. Many people have seemed to develop the typical urban attitude towards their neighbours of being nice to them but not 'mixing' with them. Another section of the urban-migrants is totally confined to their job and home. They are completely oblivious of their neighbourhood and neighbours.

The residents have practically no leisure time. Their working hours of 7.30 to 4 p.m. and the journey to and from the work place exhausts them to the limit and leaves them with little energy and time for developing meaningful social ties in the neighbourhood.

Economically, people are generally hard-pressed. Increasing needs and wants, rising costs and almost stable incomes lead these people to find out other channels of income. Therefore, many of the residents, in their limited leisure, engage themselves in part time jobs and businesses to supplement their incomes. This economic fact has considerably conditioned the social fabric of the locality. Many of the residents complain about the city life being ruthless and cruel and desire to go back to their village homes.

There are a number of voluntary organisations in the locality but they have not been able to register their impact on the residents. Bharat Sevak Samaj is comparatively more active and doing some good work. Tenants Welfare Association too has an enthusiastic membership. Membership of co-operative societies and trade unions is a more common phenomenon. These organisations cater to the member's economic needs and provide professional security. Some caste are regional organisations like Kenya Kubja Mandal, Bengali Association, Garhwal Bhratra Mandal, Bhojpuri Samaj and Sikh Biradari are also active.

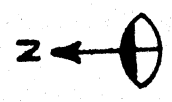
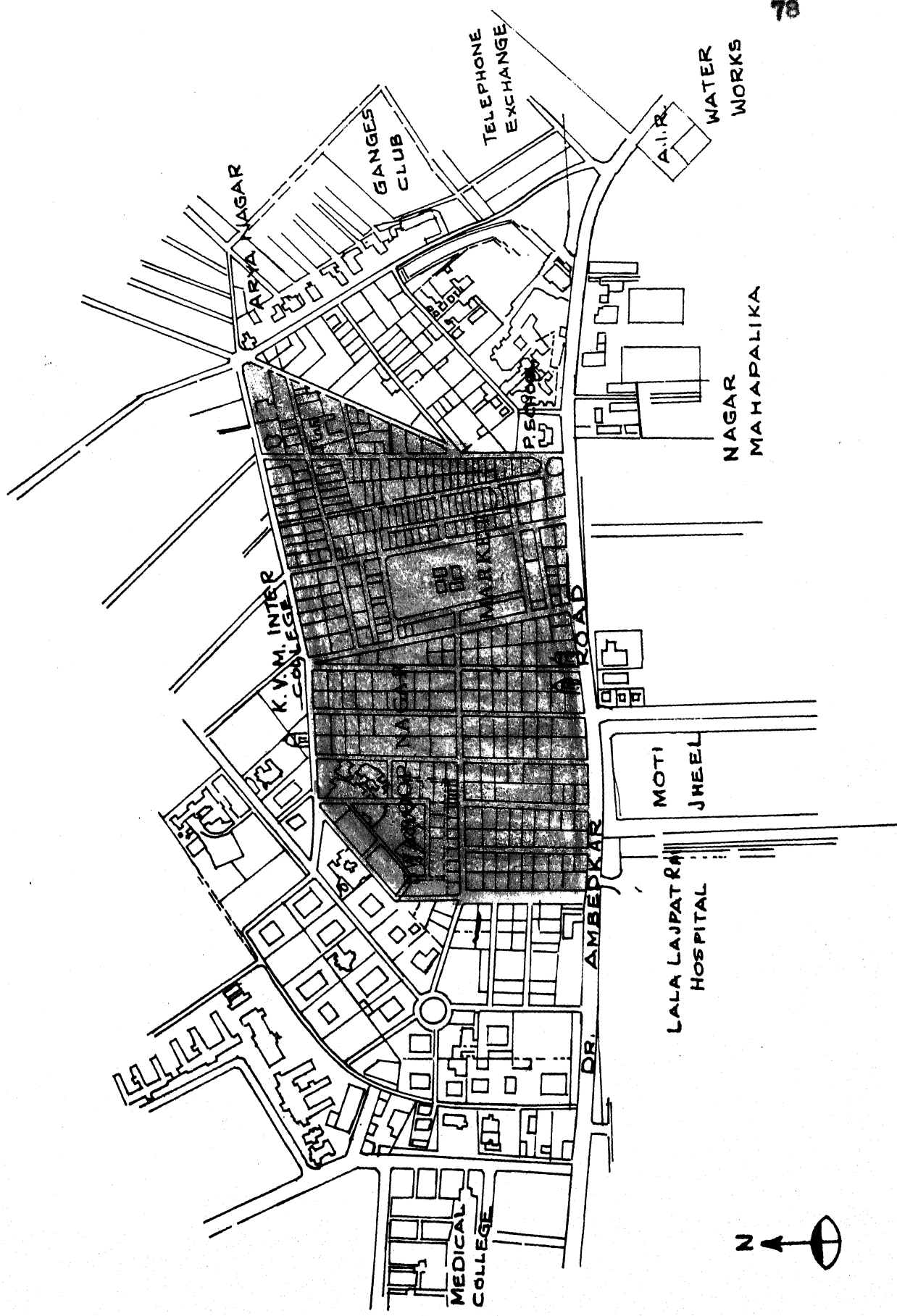
Swaroop Nagar:

Swaroop Nagar residential area is one of the elegant localities of the city and forms a part of the 'North-Eastern outer Zone' on the river front. It is an open and spaciouly built residential area with a low density of 62 persons per acre.¹¹ The area came up in about 1945-46 in the outskirts of the city which was predominantly rural and agricultural. The expansion of the city and the 'ecological competition' led to the emergence of this residential area which houses families with high incomes. The first house of the locality came up in 1945 but it was only in 1950 that the construction activity accelerated. A sudden fall in land prices and loan facilities from the Corporation and various cooperative banks provided the spurt in construction activity. Most of the people have come to this locality by owning the land and constructing their houses. A sizeable number of businessmen and industrialists has shifted from the 'Inner Zones' of the city proper. But this shifting is only for residential purposes with their business and commercial interests still flourishing in the inner zone itself.

The locality can be divided into three distinct parts:

- I. Bunglaw Area or Cottage Area.
- II. Semi-Cottage Area.
- III. House Area.

11. Special Report on Kanpur City, op. cit., p. 88



13

The Bungalow Area is inhabited by the super-business class and the super-industry and service class people. The Semi-cottage area is housed by the general service class people and professionals like lawyers, chartered accountants, doctors and teachers, etc. The 'house area' is inhabited by lower-middle and middle class service and business people. The locality has a modern and well planned layout and has an easy access to most of the services e.g. medical college, hospital, picnic spots, marketing centres, parks, educational and professional institutions etc. The dwellings are all 'concrete' and tastefully constructed. The houses are spacious, roads broader and cleaner. High boundary walls and small openings in the front characterise the building-structures. This architectural pattern has somewhat inhibited the development of informal contacts in the neighbourhood.

The residential area of Swaroop Nagar has engulfed an old village from all the sides. The village, 'Chhoti-Gutaiya' has been converted into a slum area and houses about 250 families of rickshaw pullers, factory workers, washermen, milk sellers, small shopkeepers and domestic servants. In brief, this urban village provides 'supportive services' to Swaroop Nagar, though lately it has been considered a security hazard by many a residents of this locality.

The population of Swaroop Nagar is, largely, made up of in-migrants (85.3 percent), particularly urban in-migrants. The locality reflects a considerable degree of heterogeneity

in regional background as a good number of residents come from Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, Delhi, Sindh and South India. The representation of caste and religious groupings is also broad-based. The 'House Area' of Swaroop Nagar has a pocket of about 50 Christian families. An interesting fact is that this part of the residential area was initially planned as an exclusively Christian locality in the pre-independence days. The Christians were provided with cheap land and other facilities but they could not withstand the economic competition and many of them sold their properties to affluent in-migrants.

Occupationally also the locality is heterogeneous and has been classified under the 'miscellaneous services' areas of the city.¹² The largest single occupational grouping is that of service class people. These are high officials in State and Central Government or in public or private enterprises. Then follow professionals i.e. doctors, teachers, chartered accountants, lawyers and others. Then come the businessmen and industrialists. A good number of tenants consist of the students of Harcourt Butler Institute of Technology, Agricultural College, etc., who are having single room accommodation in the 'House Area' of the locality.

12. Ibid., p. 81.

The social life of Swaroop Nagar is compartmentalized and the three sub-areas of the locality have, virtually, no social contacts with each other except attending a formal function, fete, Holi Mela or an art exhibition. Culturally, the 'House Area' of the locality is closer to Aryanagar, a nearby middle-class residential area, than to the other two parts of the locality. A semi-commercial street cuts apart this area from the Bunglaw and Semi-cottage areas. The 'super' business and service class has, practically, no contacts with the rest of the community. They are confined to their three dimensional existence viz. job or business, family and clubs. The professionals are also very busy and confined to their own circles. They prefer to join clubs and organisations for the reasons of recreation and developing contacts needed for their professional advancement.

Relations with neighbours are cordial though not very intimate. 'Good relations with all the neighbours' seems to be the principle commonly observed. Some of the residents have a typical indifference toward the local surroundings and have no roots or involvement with the neighbourhood or even with the city as such. Some semblance of community life is noticed during festivals such as Holi, Diwali and Durga Puja. Friendship ties are not confined to the locality alone but are diffused all over the city. A majority of residents specially in the cottage and semi-cottage areas, own motor cars and telephones which increase the mobility of social contacts.

A number of voluntary organisations function in the neighbourhood but have limited community participation. These organisations are controlled by a few individuals who are said to have their vested interests in these organisations. Social and cultural activities have been reduced to the level of commercial ventures. One voluntary organisation is popular in the locality and doing some effective work e.g. running a charitable dispensary, arranging for free operations of eyes and arranging religious discourses. This organisation has more active involvement of a few retired residents who devote more time and take greater interest. As a matter of fact the retired residents of this locality form a more cohesive collectivity and enjoy a more organised social life.

Women are the other organised section of the residential area who are able to work out their own type of social activity with a recreation-cum-welfare bias. Coffee Clubs and Cooking Clubs are active in the locality and a more enthusiastic are attached to the All India Women Welfare Conference and the All India House-Wives Association.

The working males, generally, are 'Joiners' but belong to organisations usually outside the neighbourhood. Memberships of Rotary, Masons, Lion, B.I.C. and Ganges Club etc. are more common. As indicated before such a membership serves the dual purpose of recreation and good pastime on the one hand and fostering 'contacts' useful for business or profession-

on the other. These people have only a lukewarm and 'surface' interest in the neighbourhood organisations, confined to making monetary contribution or attending some colourful function i.e. the annual meet or a social get-together.

Religion is a very potent force in this locality and it is here that one finds a form of collective life. The locality is characterized by a broad religious structure inclusive of numerous faiths and beliefs. Manas Sangh and Arya Samaj are two very active religious organisations in the locality and their meetings draw a fairly impressive representation from the locality. Other organisations range from Ramdhari Satsang Mandal to Bahai World Faith, from Aurbindo Ashram to Bible Institute and from Satsang Mandals to 'Tensho Kotai Jingo Kyo', a faith of Japanese origin. Religious discourses are hosted by the residents by rotation and are well attended.

A Comparative Review:

In the earlier section special structural features of the three residential areas, have been highlighted. The emphasis, in this section, would be in reviewing the same in a comparative frame and thereby re-emphasizing the structural differentials. As specified earlier, the speciality and comparability of these residential areas will help in analysing social participation as the function of its structural correlates. While the earlier section has drawn its support from the secondary data, this section is largely based upon the primary data collected through personal interviews.

Comparing the historical background of the three residential areas it has been found that while Patkapur has quite a history of its own, its existence being older than the city itself, the other two areas are of very recent origin (Babupurwa 1958 and Swaroop Nagar 1945-46)—mostly post-independence residential areas. Considering the ecological and physical features it has been specified that while Patkapur adjoins the Central Business District of the Kanpur Metropolis, the other two areas, Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar, form a part of the 'Outer Zone' of the city. Babupurwa, as a matter of fact, constitutes a 'fringe area' of the city proper, situated at a distance of about four miles from the Central Business District. Swaroopnagar, an outskirts locality is only two and a half miles away from the Central Business District. Patkapur's nearness to the Central Business District has considerably enhanced its accessibility to metropolitan functions i.e. business, industry, education, recreation, market, transport etc. Swaroop Nagar too is well connected with the inner city and has easy access to metropolitan functions. Only Babupurwa is somewhat cut off from the city proper, has poorer road links and a skeleton transport service. As far as respective areas of the three residential localities are concerned, Patkapur is the smallest in size (31 acres), Swaroop Nagar almost double (61 acres) and Babupurwa is four times of Swaroop Nagar and eight times of Patkapur (248.5 acres). The small size and locational characteristics have turned Patkapur into a most dense locality

(321 persons per acre) while Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa are comparable to each other as far as density is concerned (62 and 63 persons per acre respectively). Considering the dwelling structures it has been reported earlier that Patkapur has high proportions of multi-family dwellings, many of them 'Ahatas' with small, dingy rooms and usually extremely unsanitary and over-crowding conditions. Babupurwa, being a Government-built industrial colony, has been well planned with open, spacious and modern type of dwellings, provided with modern facilities. Swaroop Nagar is a much more luxuriously and spaciouly built locality with large and elegant dwellings, broader and clearer roads, parks, shopping centres and educational institutions.

Characteristics of the Sample:

The Table III.1 gives the age distribution of the respondents of the three residential areas. On comparison it is

Table III.1

Sample Age Distribution
(in percents)
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Less than 40 years	40 - 59 years	60 years and above
Patkapur	39.7	49.3	12.0
Babupurwa	34.7	64.0	1.3
Swaroop Nagar	28.0	53.3	18.7
TOTAL	33.8	55.5	10.7

noticed that Babupurwa has the largest share of the younger population. It has only 1.3 per cent of its respondents in the older age group of 60 and above years, while in Patkapur and Swaroop Nagar this percentage rises to 12 and 18.7 respectively. The distinct character of Babupurwa can be explained by its relatively greater share of in-migrant population.

Caste:

The Table III.2 presents the distribution of respondents into different caste groupings. Comparative analysis of the three residential areas provides some interesting results. Patkapur's caste hierarchy follows the Brahmins

Table III.2
Sample Caste Distribution
(In percents)
(N = 189)*

Residential Areas	Untouchable	Scheduled caste	Kayastha	Vaishya	Khatri and Kshatriyas	Brahmins
Patkapur	4.8	14.5	16.1	3.2	14.5	46.9
Babupurwa	8.3	10.0	5.0	5.0	20.0	51.7
Swaroop Nagar	0.0	3.0	25.4	10.4	32.8	28.4
TOTAL	4.2	9.0	15.9	6.3	22.8	41.8

(46.8 percent), Scheduled castes and untouchables (19.3 percent), Kayasthas (16.0 percent), and Khatries and Vaishya (14.5 percent),

* The rest 36 respondents are non-hindus, and this distribution does not apply to them.

pattern. Babupurwa caste hierarchy follows Brahmins (55.7 percent), Scheduled castes and untouchables (18.3 percent), Kshatriyas (20.0 percent), pattern. Whereas, Swaroop Nagar follows Khatri and Kshatriyas (32.8 percent), Brahmins (28.4 percent), Kayasthas (25.4 percent), and Vaishya (10.4 percent) pattern. Thus, while Patkapur and Babupurwa are comparable in caste-ordering, Swaroop Nagar strikes a deviation where caste structure shows more balanced composition.

Length of Residence in Kanpur:

The Table III.3 shows the distribution of the sample population of the three residential areas by the length of stay in Kanpur. It indicates that in Patkapur 84.0 percent residents have been living in Kanpur for more than 20 years while in Babupurwa this percentage is 64 and in Swaroop Nagar it falls to 50.6 only. Scrutinizing the number of those who are living in Kanpur since birth, it is found that the figures are 53.3 percent, 10.7 percent and 13.3 percent respectively.

Table III.3

Length of Residence in Kanpur
(In percents)

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Below 5 years	5-10 years	10-20 years	20 years and above	Since birth
Patkapur	1.3	5.3	9.3	30.7	53.4
Babupurwa	2.7	14.7	18.6	53.3	10.7
Swaroop Nagar	10.7	10.7	28.0	37.3	13.3
TOTAL	4.9	10.2	18.7	40.4	25.8

The data reveal that all the three residential areas have more than 50 percent of their population with 20 or more years of Kanpur stay. But in the case of Patkapur it is found that relatively, it has larger proportion of stable population with 20 or more years of Kanpur experience behind them.

Natives or In-migrants:

As evidenced by the Table III.4, Patkapur has the largest proportion of native population (53.3 percent). The figures for Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa are 9.3 percent and 14.7 percent respectively. Thus, Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar residential areas are mutually somewhat comparable on this score. Patkapur assumes significant position in this respect which has considerable bearing on social participation.

Table III.4

Natives or In-migrants Distribution of the Sample

(In percents)

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	In-migrants	Native
Patkapur	46.7	53.3
Babupurwa	90.7	9.3
Swaroop Nagar	85.3	14.7
TOTAL	74.2	25.8

Occupation:

The Table III.5 presents the distribution of sample by its occupational categories. Comparing the three areas we find that in Patkapur the single largest occupation grouping is that of the professionals (37 percent); followed by skilled and unskilled workers (34.3 percent); clerks and office assistants (15.1 percent); traders and businessmen (12.3 percent); and administrative officials (1.4 percent). Babupurwa has the majority of its respondents consisting of skilled or unskilled workers (65.3 percent); followed by clerks and office assistants (32 percent). 'Professionals' in this residential area

Table III.5

Occupational Distribution of the Sample

(In percents)

(N = 222)*

Residential Areas	Skilled or unskilled worker	Clerk	Trader Business and Commercial	Industrialist	Administrative official	Professional
Patkapur	34.2	15.1	12.3	0.0	1.4	37.0
Babupurwa	65.3	32.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7
Swaroop Nagar	0.0	6.8	23.0	5.4	16.2	48.6
TOTAL	33.3	18.0	11.7	1.8	5.9	29.3

* 3 Respondents were unemployed.

constitute only 2.7 percent of sample population (N = 75). It may be assumed that its being a labour colony and ecologically segregated from the centre of the town might have discouraged 'professionals' to reside or settle over here. In Swaroop Nagar, the majority is a 'professionals' who constitute 48.6 percent of the sample population. The next sizeable proportion is of traders, businessmen and commercials who form 23 percent of its sample population. Administrative officials form 16.2 percent and clerks and office assistants 6.8 percent of the sample population. All the four industrialists of the sample are from Swaroop Nagar. Thus, on the whole the data suggest considerable occupational heterogeneity as well as inter-residential area differences.

Education:

The Table III.6 presents the educational distribution of the sample population. It shows that while Patkapur has

Table III.6

Educational Distribution of the Sample Population
(In percents)
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	No Education	Primary and Junior High School	High School and Intermediate	Graduates	Post-graduate and above
Patkapur	9.3	29.4	24.0	20.0	17.3
Babupurwa	16.0	42.7	32.0	9.3	0.0
Swaroop Nagar	0.0	2.7	14.7	41.3	41.3
TOTAL	8.4	24.9	23.6	23.6	19.5

an almost equal distribution of its population in different educational categories, Babupurwa is educationally backward with only 9.3 percent of its respondents being graduate or above while for Patkapur and Swaroop Nagar these figures are 37.3 percent and 82.6 percent respectively. Swaroop Nagar can easily be marked out for its distinct edge over the other two residential areas.

Income:

The income distribution of the sample population has been shown in the Table III.7. It can be seen that Patkapur has predominantly the lower income class which constitutes 36.0 percent of its sample population and middle income class with 37.3 percent persons; Babupurwa has predominantly the lower income class which constitutes 73.3 percent of its sample population.¹³ The medium income class constitutes 22.7

Table III.7

The Income Distribution of the Sample Population
(In percents)

(N = 225)

Residential areas	Annual Income		
	Low	Medium	High
Patkapur	36.0	37.3	26.7
Babupurwa	73.3	22.7	4.0
Swaroop Nagar	2.7	14.7	82.6
TOTAL	37.3	24.9	37.8

13. The 'lower-income class' refers to those earning Rs. 3600 and less a year. The 'medium-income class' refers to those earning between Rs. 3601 and 6000 and 'high-income-class' to those earning more than Rs. 6000 a year.

percent and the high income class only 4.0 percent. For Swaroop Nagar the order is just reverse when 82.6 percent of the sample population is of high income class followed by 14.7 percent of the medium income class and only 2.7 percent of the lower income class. Here again Swaroop Nagar's distinct edge is glaringly marked out.

Size of the Family:

The Table III.8 presents the distribution of the sample by the size of family. On comparison an interesting feature emerges that all the three areas do not differ significantly as far as the size of family is concerned. This finding leads us to assume that on an average the urban family is limited to 5 or 6 members, consisting of the husband, wife and 2 to 3 children generally.

Table III.8

Distribution of the Sample by the Size of the Family
(In percents)
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Respondent alone	Upto 3 members	Upto 8 members	More than 8 members
Patkapur	2.7	14.7	73.3	9.3
Babupurwa	1.3	17.3	73.4	8.0
Swaroop Nagar	6.7	10.7	74.6	8.0
TOTAL	3.6	14.2	73.8	8.4

Religion:

The religious break-up of the sample has been shown in the Table III.9. The residential area-wise distribution shows that Muslims have tended to concentrate in Patkapur and Babupurwa, which are relatively lower status residential areas. An obvious explanation seems to lie in their own generally poor socio-economic status. Swaroop Nagar shows, relatively, a more secular pattern and its population has representation of almost all the religious communities.

Table III.9

Religious Distribution of the Sample Population

(In percents)

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Muslims	Hindus	Others
Patkapur	17.3	82.7	0.0
Babupurwa	20.0	77.3	2.7
Swaroop Nagar	4.0	84.0	12.0
TOTAL	13.8	81.3	4.9

The overall picture that emerges out of this comparative analysis suggests that the three residential areas are fairly comparable to each other in terms of caste-composition, size of the family and age groupings. The distinctiveness of

these areas is reflected when factors such as income, education, occupation and native-migrant composition of the population are taken into consideration.¹⁴ Thus, Patkapur is characterized by its greater share of native population and low and medium socio-economic status people. Babupurwa is marked out for a greater proportion of in-migrants, particularly rural in-migrants, greater proportion of industrial workers and generally low socio-economic-status of its residents. Swaroop Nagar too has a greater proportion of in-migrants but these are, largely, urban in-migrants. The analysis of the data on education, income and occupation, the three main determinants of socio-economic status, leads us to conclude that Swaroop Nagar can be rated as a higher socio-economic status residential area as compared to the two other areas.

14. The data on population characteristics of the three areas have been pooled together in the Table 7, Appendix B.

CHAPTER IV

IN-MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN THE CITY

Gino has described migration to be the process that expresses those basic changes which are transforming the world from a planet of villages into a planet of cities and metropolises.¹ As cities grow they continue to 'import' population, although urban communities also grow by natural increase, that is, the excess of urban births over urban deaths.

In India some migrants are moving from one city to another, but most are moving from rural areas into cities. A sizeable section of the population of an industrial metropolis is constituted of in-migrants, both rural and urban. In the case of Kanpur we find that 46.65 percent people form the migrant population of the city. In our study the proportion of the migrant population to the total population in the sample is 74.2 percent, which is even greater than that of the city as a whole. Any study seeking to examine the behaviour pattern and social participation of a population cannot afford to overlook this migrant character of the

1. Gino, Germani, 'Migration and Acculturation' in Houser, Philip, M. (Ed.) 'Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas', (UNESCO, 1964), p. 159.

population and its social concomitants. Social participation, the key dependent variable in this study has to be examined in the background of the in-migrant population of the city also as this section of population becomes a sizeable and significant constituent of the total population. The 'participation' of in-migrants depends considerably upon their assimilation with the native population and adjustment to the city surroundings.

The in-migrants are a special case in themselves as they in contrast to the natives of the city, undergo the entire process of in-migration. This process includes various factors such as their reasons for migration, contacts with their native places, pulls of the hinterland, their decision about settling permanently in the city and so on. All of these aspects are likely to have considerable bearing on their urban social participation and their ultimate assimilation with and adjustment to the city environment.

The study does not aim at going deep into the analysis of the process of in-migration and its contributing factors, as it is not the primary objective of the study. However, it does attempt to assess the trend and complexion of the process in so far as it affects the in-migrant's social participation. As a matter of fact, it has been assumed that the phenomenon of in-migration is an intervening variable in its motivational and dispositional dimensions. This

* For this study, the terms 'migrant' and 'in-migrant' have been used inter-changeably.

intervening variable alongwith independent variables specified earlier, is likely to have a determinative influence on our dependent variable - urban social participation.

The selective material on in-migration, presented in this chapter, includes the analysis of in-migrants in terms of their nativity, place of birth, place of emigration, earlier urban experience and reasons for in-migration. It also includes, the analysis of the 'resource-person' phenomenon, in-migrants' frequency and nature of contacts with the hinterland and his decision on plan to settle permanently in the city of Kanpur.

1. Preponderance of In-migrants:

In the sample population for this study 74.2 percent of the respondents consist of in-migrants leaving only one-fourth (25.8 percent) belonging to the city proper. However, the percentage of in-migrants varies from neighbourhood to neighbourhood as is evidenced by the following table.

Table IV.1

Native or In-migrant Composition of the Sample
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Inmigrant	Native
Patkapur	35 (46.7)	40 (53.3)
Babupurwa	68 (90.7)	7 (9.3)
Swaroop Nagar	64 (85.3)	11 (14.7)
Total	167 (74.2)	58 (25.8)

Table IV.1 shows that while Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar contain predominantly in-migrant population, Patkapur is a mixed residential area with more than half of its respondents (53.3 percent) being the natives of the city of Kanpur. Of the two 'in-migrant residential-areas' Swaroop Nagar has a relatively, greater share of native population (14.7 percent as compared to 9.3 percent in Babupurwa).

2. Native Place of In-migrants:

The in-migrants of the sample do not have similar backgrounds in terms of the habitat from which they in-migrated. It is true that a majority hails from rural areas but there is no denying the fact that a sizeable section has migrated from small towns, another from metropolises. The Table IV.2 shows that among in-migrants 57.6 percent have their native places

Table IV.2

Distribution of In-migrants by Their Native Place
(N = 167)*

Residential Areas	Village	Town	Metropolis
Patkapur	18 (47.4)	15 (39.5)	5 (13.2)
Babupurwa	55 (86.6)	5 (7.5)	4 (6.0)
Swaroop Nagar	22 (33.8)	26 (40.0)	17 (26.2)
Total	95 (57.6)	46 (27.1)	26 (15.3)

* The rest 58 respondents do not belong to this distribution as they are natives of the city of Kanpur.

in some village within or outside Kanpur district. 27.1 percent immigrants have their native places in small towns and 15.3 percent belong to big towns or metropolises. The table emphasizes the point that the bulk of the in-migrant population of the city has a village or small-town background. On comparison of the three residential areas, the table reveals that Babupurwa has a sharply distinct character in having a vast majority of its respondents (86.6 percent) with a rural-nativity. Patkapur and Swaroop Nagar are fairly comparable in this respect as well as in respect of the respondents, belonging to small towns. The two areas differ sharply in the third category where the table shows that Swaroop Nagar's share of respondents, who belong to big towns or metropolises, is almost double of that of Patkapur (the percentages are 13.2 and 26.2 respectively). The table, thus, makes it clear that on account of nativity, while Babupurwa has predominantly rural in-migrant population, Patkapur and Swaroop Nagar have a greater proportion of urban in-migrant population with Swaroop Nagar having a larger share of respondents with big town or metropolitan backgrounds.

3. Place of Birth:

It has been noticed that in quite a few cases the native place and the place of birth of the respondent are not the same. One may belong to a place without necessarily being born there and vice-versa. This necessitates a separate analysis of in-migrants in terms of their places of birth.

The Table IV.3 presents the distribution of in-migrants by the places of their birth i.e. village, town or metropolis. Here too it has been found that 90 in-migrants (53.91) were born in villages and 51 (30.5 percent) were born in small towns and cities. Only 26 in-migrants (15.6 percent) were born in big towns or metropolises. This finding further corroborates the fact that Kanpur's migrant population has largely rural and small town orientation.

Table IV.3

Distribution of In-migrants by Their Birth Place

(N = 167)

Residential Areas	Village	Town	Metropolis
Patkapur	18 (51.4)	14 (40.0)	3 (8.6)
Babupurwa	56 (82.3)	5 (7.4)	7 (10.3)
Swaroop Nagar	16 (25.0)	32 (50.0)	16 (25.0)
Total	90 (53.9)	51 (30.5)	26 (15.6)

4. Place of Out-migration:

In-migration is not always an uni-phased phenomenon. It is not necessary that the in-migrant should move from his rural 'home' to the metropolis, directly. Some of them may drift to other smaller or bigger towns before they, ultimately, find their way to Kanpur. As such it is necessary

that the analysis should be made in terms of the in-migrant's place of emigration to Kanpur also.

Table IV.4 presents the distribution of in-migrant population by their places of stay before coming to Kanpur. The table reveals that here too 37.1 percent in-migrants have come to Kanpur from rural areas. 28.7 percent have come to Kanpur from small towns and 34.1 percent from big cities or metropolises. The table suggests that while the majority of those born in villages have come to Kanpur directly, some of them did drift to other towns and metropolises before they, ultimately, landed in the city of Kanpur. These 'rural-born yet urban exposed' in-migrants provide an intermediary category in the typology of urban-dwellers.²

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2. The other categories in the typology may be the 'peasant-visitor', the 'rural born with no urban experience', the 'temporary urbanized and the 'native' or 'urbanized'. These categories have not been elaborated here for want of empirical evidence. Wilson (1941 and 1942) worked out similar categories when he divided the adult male population into four categories according to the time they have spent in urban areas. These categories are: peasant visitors, migrant labourers, temporary urbanized and permanently urbanized. (See Wilson, G., 'Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia', Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara, (UNESCO, 1956), p. 153.

Table IV.4

Distribution of In-migrants by the Place of Their Out-Migration

(N = 167)

Residential Areas	Village	Town	Metropolis
Patkapur	12 (34.3)	14 (40.0)	9 (25.7)
Babupurwa	44 (65.7)	8 (11.9)	15 (22.4)
Swaroop Nagar	6 (9.2)	26 (40.0)	33 (50.8)
Total	62 (37.2)	48 (28.7)	57 (34.1)

Table IV.5

Distribution of In-migrants by the Size of Towns Stayed

(N=132)*

Residential Areas	Small towns only	Both small and big towns	Big towns only
Patkapur	9 (29.0)	5 (16.1)	17 (54.9)
Babupurwa	6 (16.7)	9 (25.0)	21 (58.3)
Swaroop Nagar	4 (6.2)	19 (29.2)	42 (64.6)
Total	19 (14.4)	33 (25.0)	80 (60.6)

* The rest 35 in-migrants came to Kanpur straight from their villages.

This finding has been further corroborated by Table IV.5, which shows the distribution of urban in-migrants by the size of towns in which they stayed before coming to Kanpur. The majority of the urban in-migrants (60.6 percent) has stayed in big towns and metropolises. 25 percent urban in-migrants have stayed in both small and big towns, whereas 14.4 percent have stayed in small towns only. The table clearly illustrates that a sizeable section of the urban population had been exposed to life in big cities even before it reached Kanpur. This is in sharp contrast to its counterpart section of 'rural-migrants' that had no urban experience before coming to the city of Kanpur.

The background data presented so far suggest that the in-migrant population of the city can be classified into three major categories based on urban experience or lack of it. These categories can be listed as,

- (i) Urban-born
- (ii) Rural-born with urban experience
- (iii) Rural-born without urban experience.

It may be interesting to examine the inter-category

differences as far as assimilation to and participation in city life is concerned.

5. Reasons of In-migration:

The major forces behind cityward migration in the developing societies lie in the rural areas which 'push' a large part of the rural population to cities. Unable to earn a proper livelihood on the farms and in the villages, the migrants are not so much attracted by urban opportunity as they are expelled by rural poverty and insecurity that have resulted from over-population, fragmentation of land holdings, inefficient land-use and the vagaries of nature. This emerges in sharp contrast to the history of cities in the industrialized and developed cities where migrants are drawn to cities by the 'pull' of an expanding commercial and manufacturing economy.

Table IV.6 lists various reasons for migrating to

Table IV.6

Distribution of Sample In-migrants by the Reasons for Coming to Kanpur

(N = 167)

Residential Areas	Partition	Transfer	Came with family	Job or education	Came to settle
Patkapur	1 (2.9)	1 (2.9)	9 (25.7)	23 (65.7)	1 (2.9)
Babupurwa	0 (0.0)	13 (19.4)	2 (3.0)	52 (77.6)	0 (0.0)
Swaroop Nagar	5 (7.7)	19 (29.2)	13 (20.0)	24 (36.9)	4 (6.2)
Total	6 (3.6)	33 (19.7)	24 (14.4)	99 (59.3)	5 (3.0)

Kanpur and shows the distribution of in-migrants by their reasons for in-migration. The table shows that a majority (59.3 percent) have come to the city of Kanpur for reasons of finding livelihood, a pure and simple economic reason, 19.8 percent in-migrants have not come to the city, of their own choice but have been transferred to this place, generally against their wishes. Another 14.4 percent have come to the city along with their parents or other family members and have not exercised their own choice. 3.6 percent form the refugee population that has been forced to emigrate to Kanpur after partition. Only 3 percent migrants have come to the city for the purpose of settling down - a factor showing their positive attitude towards city life.

Summarising the whole table it can be said that while 62.3 percent have somewhat voluntarily opted for their metropolitan 'fate' the rest 37.7 percent could not exercise such a voluntary option and were rather forced to the metropolis.

These figures can be compared with the data from other studies too. A research study conducted under the International Seminar on Urban and Industrial Growth of Kanpur Region, finds that it is the economic pressure in the village, the large family size and resultant increased expenditure coupled with a loss of traditional occupations and crafts are the 'push' factors in villages, responsible

for migration. The city has very little 'pull' except its employment potential. Very few people want to come to city unless they are pushed out from the village.⁴

The surveys of migrants to cities document the importance of economic 'push'. A survey of 3,282 migrants to Lucknow,⁵ classified twice as many rural migrants as having been 'pushed' to the city by such factors as insufficient land to cultivate or rural unemployment, as had been 'pulled' to the city by such reasons as prospects of better employment. Similarly in Peru, where peasants practice a harmful agricultural system that ruins the soil, a survey of 17,000 heads of families now living in Lima found that 61 percent gave pressing economic reasons as the cause of their move to the city.⁶ Some migrants to the city are 'pushed' by political events. About 5 percent of the migrants in the Lucknow survey had come because of the partition of India in 1947. A small but significant minority comes to the cities for secondary or higher education or for technical training e.g. 6 percent in the Lucknow survey and 9 percent in the Lima Survey. For most migrants, however, the 'pull'

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4. Sharma, K.N., C.P. Goyal and R.K. Srivastava, 'Migration, Urbanization and Job Commitment of Industrial Workers', Research Cell Bulletin No. 4, Part A, International Seminar on Urban and Industrial Growth of Kanpur Region, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, 1967; p. 22.
 5. Mukerjee, R. and Singh B., 'Social Profiles of a Metropolis', (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961), p. 67.
 6. Jose Matos Mar, 'The Barriadas of Lima'; An Example of Integration into Urban Life', in Philip Hauser, (Ed.) 'Urbanisation in Latin America' (UNESCO Tensions and Technology Series, No. 8, 1961), pp. 182-83.

of the city lies in the 'bright lights.' Knowledge of urban consumer goods, urban diversity and excitement have penetrated even the most remote places by means of contacts with former migrants. The social 'pull' of the city is usually an empty one. For the majority of migrants - illiterate, untrained, and unexperienced to city ways - the move results merely in the transfer of rural problems and poverty to the city. However, it is to be admitted, as Prabhu concluded, that it is the combined force of various causes that compells villagers to the city.⁷

While the data on the causes of in-migration in this study as well as in other studies tend to highlight 'push' as the main motivating factor in migration, Sovani (1961) disputes it and argues convincingly against the 'over-urbanization' thesis. He asserts that the rural situation though bad is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for rural-urban migration.⁸ Bose also contends that an migration analysis based on push and pull forces tend to be an over-simplification. He argues that push and pull factors must be interpreted in the over-all demographic context. He further points out that push factors operate in the city also,

7. Prabhu, P.N., 'Bombay: A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanization in Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay', 'Social Implications of Urbanization: Five Studies in Asia', (UNESCO Research Centre, 1956), pp. 51-95.

8. Sovani, N.V., op. cit., pp. 9-10.

which can be termed 'push-back' factors.⁹

6. Resource Person in In-migration:

The phenomenon of 'resource person' is significant as it epitomises a manifestation of rural-urban link. Contrary to general belief, the in-migrants do not land in the urban vacuum but have an institutionalised mechanism, however undefined and informal it may be. Kinship and friendship channels operate in migration. The pioneers settle in the city, friends, relatives and neighbours follow, finding support for work and location, as well as a powerful mechanism of adjustment to the new situation. The 'resource persons' provide a very significant and meaningful relationship network which sustains the new comer in the strange, alien and many a times hostile surroundings. These are the persons who are already established in the city and keep an eye on opportunities which can be filled up by their acquaintances, native village people or kin members.

Table IV.7 presents the distribution of in-migrant by the persons in the city who acted as their 'resources persons'. While 36.3 percent in-migrant respondents have no one who acted as a 'resource-person', the rest i.e. 63.7 percent have some one or the other who has been responsible as well as considerably helpful in their coming to the metropolis. Of these the largest number is of those (74) who

9. Bose, Ashish, 'Studies in India's Urbanization', Monograph, (Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, 1966), pp.72-73.

have been helped by their kin members, forming 44 percent of the total in-migrant respondents. For 14.3 percent in-migrants friends of their own caste and other castes acted as resource persons and for other 3.6 percent in-migrants simple acquaintances from village or town have been decisive.

Table IV.7

Distribution of Sample In-migrants by the Resource Person
(N = 167)

Residential Areas	Kin	Caste Friend	Non-Caste Friend	Acquaintance from village	Any other	None
Patkapur	23 (62.2)	3 (8.1)	6 (16.2)	1 (2.7)	0 (0.0)	4 (10.8)
Babupurwa	33 (49.3)	6 (9.0)	3 (4.5)	4 (6.0)	1 (1.5)	20 (29.7)
Swaroop Nagar	18 (28.1)	5 (7.8)	1 (1.6)	1 (1.6)	2 (3.1)	36 (57.8)
Total	74 (44.0)	14 (8.3)	10 (6.0)	6 (3.6)	3 (1.8)	60 (36.3)

The neighbourhood comparison suggests that while all the three residential areas abound in having kins as 'resource persons', the proportions of these to other categories differ sharply. In Patkapur 62.2 percent respondents have kins as their 'resource persons' while the percentages of the other two localities are relatively low (49.3 and 28.1 for Babupurwa

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and Swaroop Nagar respectively). Swaroop Nagar presents another distinct feature with more than half of its in-migrants (57.8 percent) having no 'resource-person' at all. The greater share of urban in-migrants and relatively higher socio-economic-status of the neighbourhood seem to be the main factors explaining this characteristic of the Swaroop Nagar area. Another conjecture may be that urban in-migrants, with relatively higher socio-economic status and greater urban exposure behind them, may find the phenomenon of 'resource-person' non-functional and not so important.

The supporting evidence on the phenomenon of 'resource-person' is available from Bogue and Zachariah who have pointed out that urban-ward migration has reached a point where the residents of almost every village have relatives or fellow villagers living in at least one of the major cities. Family and village ties are sufficiently strong to create an obligation upon the successful migrant to help sponsor new entrants to the city.¹⁰ The research study conducted in the Seminar on Urban and Industrial Growth of Kanpur Region' also mentions that in case of industrial workers in Kanpur suggestions for migration generally came from relatives other than father, brother or uncle. In some cases blood relations too

10. Bogue, Donald J. and Zachariah K.C., 'Urbanisation and Migration in India' in Roy Turner, op. cit., p. 45.

had urged upon them to come to city. The study further points out that villagers working in the city also help their co-villagers to come to the city.¹¹

Mayer talks of the similar phenomenon operating in African towns. He points out that in East London migrant workers choose to spend their off-duty hours incapsulated in a clique of friends-room mates, drinking companions, etc. who, in fact, are old friends or acquaintances from one's 'home place'.¹² Wirth wrote that the itinerant Jew carried his community with him.¹³ Similarly students of traditional Chinese Society have pointed to the function of clan in meeting the needs of the new arrival in a city. Little's study of West African Urbanization emphasized that voluntary associations along tribal lines were formed for purposes of mutual protection and played an important part in the process by which new comers were assimilated.¹⁴ Hauser and Schnore outline three ways in which the in-migrant learns urban behaviour patterns: in orienting the new comer, teaching him how to behave and what to expect, in giving him access to work and leisure organizations; in maintaining

11. Op. cit., p. 24.

12. Mayer, P., 'Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns', in R.E. Pahl (Ed.) 'Readings in Urban Sociology', (Pergamon Press, London, 1968), p. 314.

13. Reiss, A.J. (Ed.) 'Louis Wirth on Cities and Social Life' (Chicago University Publication, 1964), p. 88.

14. Little, Kenneth; 'The Role of Voluntary Association in West African Urbanisation', American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, August, 1957, pp. 579-595.

the new comer's ties with his rural traditions and in carrying urban patterns back to the villages, reducing the gap between urban and rural society.¹⁵ Banton has painted out a similar trend in the West African cities. He has held that the in-migrant is absorbed into the urban system not by a process of individual change in line with the melting-pot conception of assimilation, but through his membership in a local group of people drawn from his own village or tribe.¹⁶

7. Contacts with Village:

It is generally asserted that the roots of rural-in-migrants lie in villages and they maintain close and continuous links with their native villages by visiting them quite frequently. These close and continuous extra-town links are significant as they may faster motivational or emotive barriers in the in-migrant's efforts to develop within - town ties and a desirable level of urban social participation. Prabhu, in his Bombay study, reported that nearly half (47 percent) of the respondents visit their villages once a year, 18 percent twice a year and about 6 percent 3 times or more. 14 percent visit their villages once in two years, 11 percent once in three years and about 5 percent once in five years or more.¹⁷ Similarly, Kanpur

15. Hauser P.M. and Schmore, L.F. (Eds), 'The Study of Urbanization', (John Wiley and Sons; 1965), pp.494-495.

16. Banton, Michael, 'Social Alignment and Identity in a West African City', in Hilda Kuper (Ed.), 'Urbanization and Migration in West Africa', (University of California Press, 1965), pp. 131-147.

17. Prabhu, P.N., op. cit., pp. 51-95.

Seminar Study, revealed that about 10 to 50 percent industrial in-migrants go to their village homes every month or so and maintain regular contacts.¹⁸

In our study, Table IV.8 shows the break-up of in-migrants by their frequency of visiting their native places and reflects the magnitude of contacts the migrants have with their native places. The distribution suggests that while 28.6 percent have virtually no contacts with their native places, 26.2 percent visit it once a year on the average. One fourth of the in-migrants visit their native place twice or thrice a year and 20.2 percent in-migrants have more frequent contacts with their native places, visiting it once a month or even more. The figures suggest not only a strong homeward orientation but also a pattern of repeated

Table IV.8

Distribution of Sample In-migrants by the Frequency of Visit to Native Place

(N = 168)

Residential Areas	Never	Once a year	Twice or Thrice a year	More
Patkapur	13 (35.1)	13 (35.1)	7 (18.9)	4 (10.8)
Babupurwa	9 (13.4)	17 (25.4)	21 (31.3)	20 (29.9)
Swaroop Nagar	26 (40.6)	14 (21.9)	14 (21.9)	10 (15.6)
Total	48 (28.6)	44 (26.2)	42 (25.0)	34 (20.2)

18. Op. cit., p. 28.

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migration rather than unrepeatd flying visits.

A comparative analysis of the table reveals that of the three areas, Swaroop Nagar has a relatively greater share of its sample population (40.6 percent against 35.1 and 13.4 for Patkapur and Babupurwa respectively) in the category of respondents who have no contacts with their native places. Babupurwa has a greater share of respondents who have frequent contacts with their native places (29.5 percent as compared to 15.6 percent in Swaroop Nagar).

The nature of the contacts of the migrants with their native places has a significant bearing on their urban social participation. As it is only the nature of contacts which can reveal the true magnitude of extra-town emotive ties. The nature of these contacts can be better understood through the examination of the reasons for the in-migrant's visit to his native place.

8. Reasons of Visiting the Native Place:

The distribution of migrant respondents by their reasons for visiting their native places has been shown in Table IV.9. The reasons advanced for visiting the native place have been ordered on an informal scale, ranging from purely economic reasons to purely emotional and personal reasons. The table reveals that visiting family members and attending family functions and ceremonies are the most important reasons accounting

for 66.7 percent of the in-migrant respondents. Then come the non-familial and property reasons which account for 25 percent of the respondents. About 8.3 percent range in the middle and visit their native places for business and holidaying. The table suggests the existence of fairly strong extra-town emotive ties in the in-migrants inspite of their long stay in the city. This finding may be useful in explaining the weaker attachment to, and the lesser involvement with city life.

The intra-neighbourhood comparison does not reveal sharp differences except for the fact that the middle-ranging contacts of business and holidaying are found in Swaroop Nagar only. The summated analysis of contacts and their nature gives the impression that the typical Kanpur in-migrant is a country-bred individual who stays in the city, holding down a job for

Table IV.9

Distribution of In-migrants by the Reasons for Visiting
Native Place
(N = 120)*

Residential Areas	Looking after property	Business cum- holiday- ing	Holi- daying only	Ceremo- nies and festi- vals	Visiting family members
Patkapur	6 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (33.3)	10 (41.7)
Babupurwa	16 (27.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	21 (36.2)	20 (34.5)
Swaroop Nagar	8 (21.1)	6 (15.8)	3 (7.9)	6 (15.7)	15 (39.5)
Total	30 (25.0)	6 (5.0)	4 (3.3)	35 (29.2)	45 (37.5)

* The rest 47 respondents do not visit their native places at all.

many years. Most in-migrants make frequent brief visits 'home' during their prolonged stay in town. Some can manage 'week-ending', and 'month-ending', others are limited to an annual two weeks at Holi, Dewali or such other festivals.

This particular local situation - the combination of easy home visiting, for those who wish it, with prolonged stay in town-makes it possible to construct a meaningful scale for measuring the strength of the hinterland pull or 'pull-back' as Ashish Bose calls it. Most in-migrants when they begin their Kanpur career are suspected to face a fairly strong pull, in that they have left their closest kin and dependents (parents, wives, children etc.) 'at home' in the village. These rural kin expect to be visited at quick intervals and to receive regular remittances from the migrants wages¹⁹. But the pull need not remain constant. Some in-migrants, eventually, nullify the pull by moving their families into town, and winding up their interests in the hinterland. The in-migrants who remain permanently susceptible to the pull are the ones who make the most of their opportunities for home-visiting.

Thus, it implies that two types of people live side by side in city: namely the in-migrant and the native - two distinct socio-cultural categories. In our sample about 25 per cent respondents are natives of Kanpur, townsmen born and bred. These people approximate to the ideal type of the 'urban man'

19. Kanpur Seminar Report, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

who has all the important social ties bounded by the cities and feels no pull from the hinterland. With them may be classed those among the rural-born (28.6 percent in the sample) who in due course have dropped or lost their rural links and feel no pull from the hinterland. Over against all these 'urban-men', by birth or by adoption, stand all the in-migrants (about 47 percent in our sample) who still have parents, wives, children, land, houses etc. and who are thereby subject to the hinterland pull in more or less full force. In between these polar types an intermediary category can not be ruled out. These may be the in-migrants who keep up less emotive and rather peripheral links with the hinterland.

9. Owning Property and Settling in Kanpur:

Owning immovable property in the city and planning or deciding to settle permanently in the city are considered to be two of the important indicators of an urban resident's favourable disposition towards the city and its environment. It is assumed that an urban resident who owns or plans to own immovable property such as a house, land, shop, godown etc. and who decides or plans to settle permanently in the city, is the individual who has made his adjustment with the city, found it 'livable' or succeeded in his attempts to make it 'livable'. This fact is found to have a determinative influence on his participation in the city.

The respondents were first asked to indicate whether they own or plan to own property in the city of Kanpur.

Table IV.10 presents the distribution of respondents by their plan for owning property in Kanpur. As evident from the table 110 respondents (48.8 percent) already own some immovable property hence the issue is valid for only the remaining 115 respondents. Of these 60 percent have no plans whatsoever for owning any property in the city of Kanpur. Another 24.3 percent are not yet definite on this issue and have not yet made up their minds or have not been able to muster enough resources. Only 15.7 percent of the respondents have positively planned for owning some kind of immovable property in the city.

Table IV.10

Distribution of Sample by Plan for Owning Property in
Kanpur
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Already owning property*	No plan to own property	Not definite	Plan to own property
Patkapur	41	17 (50.0)	9 (26.5)	8 (23.5)
Babupurwa	14	38 (62.3)	17 (27.9)	6 (9.8)
Swaroop Nagar	55	14 (70.0)	2 (10.0)	4 (20.0)
Total	110	69 (60.0)	28 (24.3)	18 (15.7)

* The percentages run row-wise excepting the total which is columnwise and do not include the figures in column one.

The respondents were further asked to indicate their plans for settling down in the city after their retirement from work. Table IV.11 presents the distribution of respondents by their plans for settling in Kanpur. The table makes it clear that a majority of respondents (57.3 percent) has either already settled permanently in Kanpur or has been thinking in terms of settling down permanently. Only 17.8 percent respondents gave an emphatic 'No' to the question, saying that they do not like to settle in the city of Kanpur permanently. An interesting fact comes out in the figures of those respondents who could not give a clear reply to the question. 24.9 percent of the respondents were not definite on this issue and had not yet made up their mind. In

Table IV.11

Distribution of Sample by Their Willingness to Settle
in Kanpur
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	No	Not Definite	Yes
Patkapur	3 (4.0)	13 (17.3)	59 (78.7)
Babupurwa	24 (32.0)	26 (34.7)	25 (33.3)
Swaroop Nagar	13 (17.3)	17 (22.7)	45 (60.0)
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)

other words about 43.7 percent of the respondents have not reconciled fully, to the idea of making the city of Kanpur their permanent home.

The residential area comparisons reveal that Babupurwa has the largest proportion (66.7 percent) of such respondents. In Swaroop Nagar 40 percent respondents fall in this category while Patkapur has a very nominal share i.e. 21.3 percent. The larger share of in-migrant population in Babupurwa and the low socio-economic status of the neighbourhood seem to explain this distinctiveness. The fact is further corroborated by the figures in the third column which indicate that in Patkapur more than three-fourth (78.7 percent) respondents are willing to settle permanently in Kanpur, in Swaroop Nagar this proportion is three-fifth (60.0 percent) while in Babupurwa it falls down to only one-third (33.3 percent). The largely rural in-migrant character of the residents of Babupurwa and their lower socio-economic status offers the explanation for this distinctiveness of this residential area.

The respondents were further asked to indicate their reasons for deciding to settle permanently in Kanpur. Table IV.12 shows the distribution of respondents by their reasons for settling permanently in Kanpur. Out of 129 respondents who have expressed their desire to settle in Kanpur 48.0 percent* are motivated by pure economic reasons i.e. own or family

* Total of percentages in columns 3 and 4.

members' job, ownership of immovable property etc. About one third of the respondents (34.1 percent)* want to settle in Kanpur as they have got used to the life of Kanpur. These are the persons who can be rated amongst those who have most positive attitude towards the city and its inhabitants and are likely to be participating more in the city life, and have developed within-town contacts, friendships and social relations.

A small section of the respondents (3.1 percent) prefers to settle in the city of Kanpur because it is nearer their native place. These are the persons who, perhaps, want to have the best of both the worlds i.e. links with the hinterland as well as city-living. Another section of respondents (7.0 percent) is of those who have decided or plan to settle

Table IV.12

Distribution of Respondents Willing to Settle in
Kanpur by the Reasons for Settling

(N = 129)

Residential Areas	No alter- native	Nearer to the native place	Property reasons	Own or family members job	Faci- lities and oppor- tunities	Emo- tional rea- sons	Social life
Patkapur	6 (10.2)	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)	20 (33.9)	2 (3.4)	28 (47.5)	1 (1.7)
Babupurwa	3 (12.0)	3 (12.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (36.0)	2 (8.0)	8 (32.0)	0 (0.0)
Swaroop Nagar	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (20.0)	23 (51.1)	6 (13.3)	5 (11.1)	2 (4.5)
Total	9 (7.0)	4 (3.1)	10 (7.8)	52 (40.2)	10 (7.8)	41 (31.8)	3 (2.3)

* Total of percentages in columns 6 and 7.

permanently in Kanpur for the simple reason that they have no other alternatives. These are the persons who with reference to our earlier analysis have dropped or lost their links with their native places and, have become immune to the pull from the hinterland. The table leads us to conclude that though the life of the city is difficult, problematic and couched in uncertainties, economic and emotional factors contribute in motivating in-migrants to accept their destiny in the metropolis.

The cross-tabulation and the application of Chi square test of significance throw some more light on the mechanism of settlement in the city and its co-associates. Tables in the Appendix B , No. 8 - 14, reveal that settling in Kanpur is positively and significantly associated with length of stay in Kanpur, income of the respondent, his education, socio-economic status, age and family-size. The general picture that emerges from this analysis is that the respondents who have opted for settling permanently in the city are generally those who have stayed in the city for quite some time, have high-middle-class or high socio-economic status, have higher education and occupational status and are generally senior in age.

The over-all picture that emerges out of the analysis of in-migration as an intervening variable, suggests that roughly three-fourth of respondents have been born outside

the city and the overwhelming majority is from the rural hinterlands around Kanpur and within the State of Uttar Pradesh. Occupational and educational opportunities account for most of the movements. The typical in-migrant here as elsewhere is a young man whose first contact in the city is often with a friend or a relative from his village 'home', with whom he may even spend the first few months. Later, more permanent lodgings are found, usually within the same neighbourhood. This process, in the aggregate results in a concentration of in-migrants from particular area or region within small sub sections in the city. In-migrants do experience a certain amount of deprivation and dissatisfaction, but they adopt or enculturate, themselves rapidly and successfully to their new surroundings as evidenced by our data on settling permanently in the city and owning immovable property. The fact that they were drawn to the city primarily because of hoped for economic advantages does not mean that their motivations in sub-sequent behaviour are necessarily or primarily economic in nature. They do start investing themselves emotionally into the urban surroundings which result into their achieving a certain kind and level of social participation which may not be very different from those residents who belong to the city proper.

As a matter of fact and as pointed out by Abu-Lughod, sociologists studying the adjustment of rural migrants to city life have been trapped in a dilemma of their own making.²⁰

20. Lughod, Janet Abu, 'Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case', American Journal of Sociology. 67, 1961, 22-23.

Stereo-typed assumptions have led to an over-simplified image of a one way adjustment of rural man to a 'stable' urban culture, despite lip services paid to feed-back and mutual assimilation. It is hypothesized that the in-migrant means himself away from the intimacy of the village to the harsh superficial relationships inherent in urban life, adapts himself from homogeneous peer group to the diversified reference group of the city (Louis Wirth: 1956). But as the data of this study suggest in the following chapters on formal and informal participation and as demonstrated by other studies in developing societies (Abu-Lughod: 1961, Little: 1965, Banton: 1957 and Chauhan: 1966) demonstrate, the picture is not that depressing. The system of relationships based on the extended kinship group, manifested in the form of 'resonance-person' phenomenon and other informal relationships, serves to increase the number of primary ties far beyond what Western Sociologists dare to assume possible. Another section of in-migrants that has higher socio-economic status and longer urban experience faces still lesser adjustment problems in the city. These in-migrants are accustomed to living in cities and have easily marketable skills which help them promote their adjustment to the city environment.

It does not mean, however, that all the differences, that exist between the in-migrants and the city-born, are completely obliterated. Many persons with rural backgrounds settle temporarily in the city and live their lives almost

entirely in settlements of their own kind, without ever coming into contact with others of a different cultural background except in job or market situations. These are villagers within the city as Gans²¹ calls them. They do not identify with the city as a community, lack civic consciousness and continue to be oriented psychologically and culturally toward their home villages and their own kinship or caste group. Yet, we have every reason to believe and have the support of empirical evidence, that such sections of in-migrants are likely to disappear fast from the Kanpur urban scene. As borne out by the material presented in the next two chapters, the network of personal associations, informal ties and voluntary associations enmeshes this multitude of in-migrants. The summated picture that flashes before us is that in-migrants are shaping the culture of the city as much as they are adjusting to it.

21. Gans, Herbert J., 'The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the life of Italian Americans' (The Free Press of Glencoe: 1962), pp. 15-16.

CHAPTER V

INFORMAL PARTICIPATION

Informal participation refers to the membership of friendship circles, neighbourhood participation, contacts with kins and other informal interest groups. Participation of this kind is, generally, considered to be at its minimum in cities,¹ and a low-key of informal participation is considered to be a special characteristic of Industrial Urbanism.² Primary relationships are considered to be typical of rural communities, specially those more isolated from the city. Till the late 1940s, many Sociologists had adopted the point of view that there was little need to study primary groups in modern industrial urban society because primary groups were doomed (Tonnies: 1940; Wirth: 1957; and Simmel: 1957). The arguments advanced by these theorists were that primary group relationships function best in an isolated situation where the division of labour is relatively simple and the cultural composition of the population is homogeneous. Here, members are held together by common interests, friendship, kinship ties, attachment to the place and mutual aid. The group relationships which Cooley has designated as primary can best be understood as an 'intimate face-to-face contact', a 'fusion of individualities in a common whole' and 'we

1. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

2. Sjoberg, Gideon, 'The Pre-Industrial City', *op. cit.*, p.224.

feeling'.

In view of the above perspective the sociologists generally hold that the city constitutes an unfavourable environment for social life, and as evidence for the validation of this notion, statistics on the high rate of urban crime and other social disorganisations have been advanced in the literature on cities. Even after the replacement of the rural-urban dichotomy by the more reasonable continuum, the dynamics of urban life has still been deduced as though the dichotomy were still valid. Urban life, particularly the adjustment of the rural in-migrant to city life, is assumed to be disorganizing in the extreme. Physically, it is envisioned as drastically altering the dwelling, changing the home as well as the neighbourhood surrounding it. Economically, the urban dweller is seen adjusting to changed occupations and rhythms of work, to a new division of labour and to different relationships between work associates. Socially, it is hypothesized that the migrant weans himself from the intimacy of the village to the harsh superficial relationships inherent in urban life, adapts himself from homogeneous peer group to the diversified reference groups of the city. Culturally, he is assumed to undergo a revolution in motivation, values and ideology (Wirth: 1957). It has been claimed that the open family unit living in a closed village community has now given place to a close family unit living in the open society of the large town (Lynd, 1929). Thus the traditional urban stereo

type visualises the urban-dweller as rootless, frustrated and an anomic pawn in an anonymous mass.

The neighbourhood and community relationships in the city are described to be vastly different from the community life of the rural areas, in several aspects. As such the term secondary group has been used to designate relationships, found in cities. The secondary group relationship is conceived as diametrically opposed to that of the primary group. That is, in the former case we see a high degree of detachment and individualization. Martindale (1960) has suggested that 'secondary institutional formations' dominate in the city in sharp contrast to the rural community where there is a synthesis around agricultural activity. He concludes that in cities, the institutions and inter-personal relationship frames are a departure from the small scale, primary relation focus of the small, rural community.³ The whole discussion retains the Tonnies Gesellschaft perspective.

Louis Wirth provided an ideal-typical description of interpersonal relationships among urban inhabitants, conditioned by the large size, density and heterogeneity of urban settlements. To him, the distinctive features of the urban mode of life are the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood and the undermining of the traditional basis of social

3. Martindale, Don; 'The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory', Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston: 1960, pp. 96-97.

solidarity.⁴ These were only some of the postulated structural and behavioral consequences of size, density and heterogeneity. Wirth hypothesized that the ecological and demographic determinants of a city would have certain social consequences, notably anonymity, dependence upon impersonal relations, sophistication and tolerance of change.

Thus, it appears that sociological theory has over-emphasized the primary secondary distinction without considering sufficiently the large intermediate canvas of intimate and semi-intimate relationships and contacts. The primary secondary dichotomy tends to obscure the extensive interpersonal relationship and the system of informal contacts and network formations which serve as links among ostensibly dispersed members of the urban community.

However, in the 1950's, a series of studies came up which suggested that the extended kin relationships could also survive in modern urban society and primary groups could maintain cohesion despite the differential mobility (Litwak: 1960(a) and (1960(b); Sussman and Burchinal, 1968). Continued work has further suggested that friendship groups, neighbourhood groups and work groups may also be viable in the contemporary urban milieu.

Therefore, for the analysis of the nature of informal social participation, the study will endeavour to examine the

4. Op. cit., p. 60.

urban-dweller's interactions with relatives, friends, neighbours and co-workers. Throughout the analysis an attempt has been made to test the validity and applicability of the over-emphasized notion that primary group relations are incompatible with the urban environment. The study also seeks to examine the question whether in seeking friendship and neighbourhood ties the city-dwellers still fall in the traditional moorings or evince a more secular, structural and urban-oriented pattern.

Relatives:

Recent studies (Gulik, Bowerman and Back: 1962; Axelord: 1957 and Marris: 1961) indicate that people in cities have a larger amount of interaction with relatives* than has usually been assumed on the basis of the old stereo typic image of the urbanite. Our study indicates (See Table V.1) that 65.4 percent of the respondents have at least three relatives in

Table V.1

Distribution of Sample by the Number of Relatives in City
(N = 225)

Residen- tial Areas	No rela- tive at all	Less than three re- latives	3 - 10 relatives	More than 10 rela- tives
Patkapur	4 (5.3)	10 (13.3)	34 (45.3)	27 (36.0)
Babupurwa	9 (12.0)	25 (33.3)	34 (45.3)	7 (9.3)
Swaroop Nagar	15 (20.0)	15 (20.0)	30 (40.0)	15 (20.0)
Total	28 (12.4)	50 (22.2)	98 (43.6)	49 (21.8)

* Relatives have been thought of as related kin living outside the household boundaries.

town. Only 12.4 percent of the respondents have no relative in the city of Kanpur. The table also reveals that Patkapur leads the other two residential areas in the incidence of relatives as here 81.3 percent respondents have three or more relatives in Kanpur while for Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar these figures are 54.6 and 60 percent, respectively. One obvious explanation for this difference lies in the difference of the proportion of natives or non-migrants in the total population of the residential area as reported earlier. But inspite of the difference we find that relatives are a common phenomenon in all the three residential areas.

Only the presence of relatives is not sufficient, frequency and nature of contacts with relatives are also to be examined in order to facilitate a more meaningful analysis of interaction with relatives. On examining the frequency of contacts with relatives we find (See Table V.2) that a big

Table V.2

Distribution of Sample by the Frequency of Contacts with Relatives
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Patkapur	4 (5.3)	1 (1.4)	20 (26.6)	50 (66.7)
Babupurwa	9 (12.0)	9 (12.0)	18 (24.0)	39 (42.0)
Swaroop Nagar	15 (20.0)	9 (12.0)	13 (17.3)	38 (50.7)
Total	28 (12.4)	19 (8.5)	51 (22.7)	127 (56.54)

majority, forming 56.5 percent of the total respondents have frequent contacts with their relatives in the city. On decoding, the 'often' category carries the meaning of contacts with a frequency of more than three times a month. 22.7 percent of the respondents meet their relatives 'sometimes' meaning thereby, contacts with a frequency of two or three times a month. 8.5 percent respondents see their relatives once a month or less and 12.4 percent of the respondents have no contacts with their relatives. The last category is generally of those respondents who do not have any relative in the city.

Here again, Patkapur is leading the other two localities in the frequency of contacts with relatives. In Patkapur 66.7 percent of the respondents meet their relatives 'frequently' or 'often' while for Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar this figure is 42.0 percent and 50.7 percent respectively. These data adequately demonstrate that there is considerable interaction with relatives and negate the much publicized alienation from the kin-group.

A similar pattern is evinced by a comparative study of the American towns of Durham and Greensboro, conducted with a view to assess newcomer enculturation in the city (Gulick, Bowerman and Back; 1962). The study concludes that urban dwellers are not without an adequate supply of close relatives within a short travel distance. It further establishes that the proportion of relatives living in the area is a function of length of

residence in the community.⁵ Axelord's study of the Detroit Area (1957) also reports a similar finding. More people get together frequently with their relatives outside of the immediate family than they do with friends, neighbours and co-workers. About one-half of the population reports that they see their relatives at least once a week. Nearly three-quarters see relatives about once a month or more often.⁶ This is in sharp contrast to the stereo type which pictures the city dweller as devoid of kinship associations.

Our study too reflects the similar trend when cross-tabulating the frequency of contact with relatives with the length of stay in Kanpur (Table V.3), we find that the two variables are significantly associated with each other.

Table V.3

Frequency of Contacts with Relatives by Length of Stay in Kanpur
(N = 197)

Length of Stay in Cities	Frequency of Contacts with relatives		
	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
20 years and less	9 (15.8)	11 (19.3)	37 (64.9)
More than 20 years	9 (11.0)	22 (26.8)	51 (62.2)
Since Birth	1 (1.7)	18 (31.0)	39 (67.3)
Total	19 (9.6)	51 (25.9)	127 (64.5)

Chi square = 7.869; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

5. Gulik, John, Bowerman, Charles E. and Back, Kurt W., 'New Comer Enculturation in the City: Attitudes and Participation' in F. Stuart Chapin, Jr. and Shirley F. Weiss (eds), John Wiley and Sons, Inc. New York: 1962, pp. 315-358

Similarly, the frequency of contact with relatives is significantly associated with length of stay in cities, in general (Appendix B, Table 16).

In an attempt to assess the quality of kinship contacts, questions were asked concerning the nature of contacts with relatives. Three major types of contacts were visualized viz. casual, intimate and help in difficulties and crises. The Table V.4 presents the data on the distribution of respondents of the three residential areas by the nature of contacts with relatives. The table shows that 44.2 percent of the respondents have only casual contacts with their relatives i.e. formal visiting, joining formal celebrations and kin-functions etc. The rest 55.8 percent respondents have intimate contacts with their relatives

Table V.4

Distribution of Sample by the Nature of Contacts
With Relatives

(N = 197)

Residential Areas	Casual	Intimate	Help in Difficulties
Patkapur	29 (40.8)	28 (39.4)	14 (19.7)
Babupurwa	23 (34.8)	24 (36.4)	19 (28.8)
Swaroop Nagar	35 (58.4)	23 (38.3)	2 (3.3)
Total	87 (44.2)	75 (38.1)	35 (17.7)

and exchange mutual aids in difficulties or emergencies. Here, intra-locality differences are interesting. While the three localities are similar as far as intimate nature of kinship contacts is concerned (percentages are 39.4, 36.4 and 38.3 for Patkapur, Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar respectively). Swaroop Nagar has more respondents (58.3 percent) who have only casual contacts with their relatives as compared to Patkapur (40.8 percent) and Babupurwa (34.8 percent). Contacts with relatives in Patkapur and Babupurwa are characterized by more mutual-aid-giving orientation than in Swaroop Nagar, the percentages are 19.7, 28.8 and 3.3 percent respectively. Swaroop Nagar the relatively more affluent locality has lesser dependence on relatives as far as help during difficulties and emergencies are concerned. Babupurwa, which has its population largely composed of migrants, has more accent on the mutual aid-giving role of the kinship group.

An overall review of the data suggests that qualitatively too, the kinship group is quite a viable unit in the interpersonal relationship of the urban-dweller. Thus kinship here seems to be the first line of defense of the family and could be relied upon in case of sickness, dispossession, accident, etc. Similar findings were reported by Peter Marris (1961) in the study of West African cities of Lagos and Nigeria. Marris pointed out that there exists a strong loyalty to kinship ties and the concept of reciprocal assistance to kin,

is a strong force in the lives of the people.⁷ However, close kinship ties tend to be stronger in the lower class levels than in the higher classes. Families that have prospered have less need for mutual assistance than those who are economically insecure.

This fact does not fit the western model of nuclear family and relatively alienated individual from his kinship group. The Western model holds that vertical mobility, especially associated with spatial mobility, tends to weaken kinship ties. (Gist and Fava: 1964; p. 371). It is true that the kinship system like the neighbourhood, is faced with pressures from differential mobility in a modern urban society. Urban and industrial values offer maximal economic rewards to those engaged in differential mobility. Yet a number of studies suggest that kinship systems can maintain their viability despite breaks in face-to-face contacts (Litwak: 1960; Adams: 1967; Lansing and Muller: 1967).

In a critical review of research findings on family and kinship systems, Sussman and Burchinal hold the position that the urban family can be conceptualized as a 'modified extended', system. This system consists of nuclear families that are bound together, by affectional ties into a

7. Marris, Peter; 'Family and Social Change in an African City' (Evanston Illinois, North West University Press, 1962),

kinship network.⁸ Such a network, as evidenced from our study, carries out activities which provide mutual assistance including financial help, gifts and advice etc. It facilitates social activities, such as kinship visiting, get-togethers of relatives, religious and social functions etc. It also provides mutual services, such as care of the old, children and sick; assistance at weddings and offers various kinds of help during difficulties and crises.

The Indian situation finds its parallel in the developing societies of Africa and Latin America. Forde spells it out in his African study asserting that in developing societies, ties of kinship maintained or re-established in the urban areas assume an added importance as they keep the individual in touch with his traditional milieu, so helping him to conserve his stability in the urban surroundings.⁹ One of the main functions of family rituals and ceremonies is to emphasize and renew the feeling of kin solidarity, for they are outward symbols of this unity. Ryan noted this phenomena in Ceylon: 'At household ceremonies one expects greater loyalty from kinsmen than others - more accurately their absence is more sharply noted'.¹⁰

Dotson challenged the assumptions underlying the western model and demonstrated that in New Haven, Connecticut, working

8. Sussman, M.B., Burchinal, Lee: 'Kin Family Network' in Marvin B. Sussman (ed.), 'Source Book on Marriage and the Family', (New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1968).

9. Forde, D., 'Social Aspects of Urbanization and Industrialization in Africa: A General Review', in 'Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara', Paris, UNESCO, pp. 11-56

10. Ryan, Bryce, 'The Sinhalese Family System', Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 6, pp. 143-63.

class nuclear families maintained close visiting relations with members of the larger kinship group - brothers, sisters, cousins and so on - and that much of their leisure time was spent in visiting families related by ties of kinship though living in different parts of the city¹¹. Similarly Pearce, in his study of a working class district in Rio De Janeiro, noted that while the nuclear family was the characteristic form of organisation, 'kinship' played an important part in the system.¹²

In a survey of research literature concerning family systems in West African Cities, Aldous concluded (1962) that the extended family is the predominant family organisation in these communities and that there is scant reason to believe that it will be replaced by the nuclear family in the foreseeable future.¹³ The cities included in these studies were Dakar, Senegal, Lagos, Nigeria, Brazzaville, Leopoldville and Congo, all over 100,000 in population. In some instances the kinship group assumed the form of a voluntary organisation. Summarizing these studies, Aldous comments:

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11. Dotson, Floyd, 'Patterns of Voluntary Associations among Working Class Families'. American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 5, 1951, pp. 681-693.
 12. Pearce, Andrew, 'Some characteristics of Urbanization in Rio De Janeiro' in Philip Hauser (ed.) (Urbanization in Latin America), Proceedings of UNESCO Seminar held at Santiago, Chile, 1959.
 13. Aldous, J., 'Urbanization, the Extended Family, and Kinship Ties in West Africa', Social Forces, Vol. 41, No. 1, Oct. 1962, p. 9.

Besides filling recreational, religious, legal, or economic needs of urbanites it (the extended family) substitutes for a non-existent public social welfare program. Kinsmen provide for the elderly and support the sick, the jobless and the destitute. They give the new arrival from the country shelter and food and help him to get work or an education and to adjust to the bustling city.¹⁴

It will be useful here to recall the finding from the chapter on in-migration, that 34.4 percent of the in-migrant respondents have named their kinsmen as 'resource person', instrumental in their migration to Kanpur. This percentage increased to 50.6 when they reported that the kinship group has been instrumental in their initial and ultimate settling down in the city of Kanpur.

The discussion of Kanpur data on kinship ties and comparative analysis of other relevant data leads us to conclude that the survival of kinship networks and the functional vigour of larger kinship groups seem to be a counteracting force against fissiparous tendencies threatening the existence of urban families. The situation in India and other developing societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not the least discouraging in this respect as feared and postulated in developed and industrialized societies of the West. Even in the West, the studies mentioned earlier have challenged the underlying assumptions and formulations of the Western model.

14. Ibid., p. 11.

Friends:

Kinsmen exist whether one ignores them or not, so do neighbours. Friends come into a different category. They presuppose selection, that is exercise of choice and the skill for developing and sustaining a level of interpersonal relationship. Litwak (1969) considers friendship ties as structurally weakest of all ties. They do not have the permanence of the kinship link or the essential or face-to-face contact characterizing the neighbourhood. In friendship instrumental ties are more important, at least in the early stages. They assume expressive connotations only after a considerable lapse of time. The major factors holding friendship ties together in any society are affectivity and mutuality. But friendship ties may be much more vulnerable to breaks in face-to-face contact than kin-ties, because in the former case there are no institutional pressures for permanence. However, friends together with kinsmen constitute the core of an individual's interpersonal relationships, as will be borne out by the discussion in this section.

Investigations into the subject of friends and friendships are made very difficult by the fact that people define friends and friendship differently. This places the researcher in a handicapped position and it becomes difficult to have complete confidence in responses to categories which do not have a standardized meaning.

In this study respondents were first asked how many friends they had in Kanpur. The responses presented in Table V.5 indicate that 48.5 percent of respondents have more than 10 friends to report, while in the category of those who have less than 11 friends 44.9 percent respondents fall. 6.7 percent respondents reported that they have no friend to mention. The large number of friends indicated by respondents suggests that 'friends', in this connection, probably carried the connotation of 'acquaintances who are friendly'.¹⁵ However, the data establish,

Table V.5

Distribution of Sample by the Number of Friends in the City
(N = 225)

Residen- tial Areas	No Friend at all	Less than 5 fri- ends	5-10 Friends	11-25 Friends	25 and more Friends
Patkapur	4 (5.3)	8 (10.7)	28 (37.3)	8 (10.7)	27 (36.0)
Babupurwa	6 (8.0)	17 (22.7)	32 (42.7)	12 (16.0)	8 (10.7)
Swaroop Nagar	5 (6.7)	2 (2.7)	14 (18.7)	27 (36.0)	27 (36.0)
Total	15 (6.7)	27 (12.0)	74 (32.9)	47 (20.9)	62 (27.6)

15. A similar problem was faced in the Durham and Greensboro study where majority of the respondents said that they had 40-50 or more friends. See Gulick, Bowerman, and Back, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

at least quantitatively, the preponderance of the friendship phenomenon in the city of Kanpur. The inter-locality analysis of the data suggests that Swaroop Nagar scores heavily in this quantitative aspect with 72 percent of its respondents reporting more than 10 friends while for Patkapur and Babupurwa, this figure is only 46.7 and 26.7 percent respectively. Swaroop Nagar, the relatively high socio-economic status neighbourhood, high in urban exposure and high in occupations warranting contacts with people, demonstrates that increased interpersonal relationships of the friendship level might be a function of these factors.

To compensate for the non-standardized nature of responses anticipated for the first question, the second question required the respondent to 'name three best friends in Kanpur and their addresses. The listing of addresses seemed to be more meaningful as it was likely to provide the spatial distribution of an individual's 'close friends' in the urban setting. The Table V.6 shows that for 41.1 percent of the respondents close friends come from predominantly the same residential area, for another 24.2 percent respondents they were recruited from nearby localities. In 18.4 percent cases these close friends are evenly distributed in the locality, nearby locality and distant areas of the city. In only 16.5 percent cases close friends were located, predominantly, in the distant areas of the city. Comparative study of the

table reveals that Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa have greater dispersal of such close friends. The percentages of respondents having their friends evenly distributed and concentrated in the distant areas of the city are 42.4 and 42.0 percent respectively. Patkapur provides a sharp contrast in this respect with only 20.8 percent respondents falling in this category and the rest 79.2 percent having their close friends in the same locality or the nearby locality. The greater proportion of natives in Patkapur's population, more

Table V.6

Distribution of Sample by the Location of Respondent's Best Friends.

(N = 207)*

Residential Areas	Friends predominantly of the same locality	Friends of nearby locality	Evenly distributed	Friends predominantly of distant localities
Patkapur	31 (43.1)	26 (36.1)	9 (12.5)	6 (8.3)
Babupurwa	27 (39.1)	13 (18.8)	16 (23.2)	13 (18.9)
Swaroop Nagar	27 (40.9)	11 (16.7)	13 (19.7)	15 (22.7)
Total	85 (41.1)	50 (24.1)	38 (18.4)	34 (16.4)

* 5 respondents did not reply and 13 respondents were in the NA category as they had no friends in the city of Kanpur.

feudal and traditional structure of the community and a strong neighbourhood bias seem to be the factors to explain the differentials.

Cross tabulating the location of friends with some independent variables one finds that the location of friends does not relate significantly to the length of stay in Kannur (See Table 17 ; Appendix B). Similarly, Location of friends is independent of respondent's willingness to settle in Kannur also (See Table 18; Appendix B). But it is significantly associated with the respondent's earlier background i.e. place from which he came to Kannur (Table 19 ; Appendix B). This suggests that respondents having earlier exposure of large cities and metropolises show more tendency towards the dispersal of their friendship contacts. The job situation, the interest groups and the abundance of structural relationships in the city as Mitchell calls them, are some of the factors that may explain this tendency.

The data on the frequency of contacts with friends reflect that the overwhelming majority of respondents (96.2 percent) see their friends more than once a week. (Table V.7).

The frequency of contacts with friends is reported to be considerably less in developed societies. Arelord's study of the Detroit Area (1956) reports that nearly two-thirds of all people see their friends at least once a month. To quote the findings in detail, 28.0 percent respondents see their friends at least once a week, 19.0 percent, a few times a

month, 18 percent about once a month and 31.0 percent less often than that.¹⁶ Conceding some difference to the non-standardized concept of 'friendship' still much remains to be

Table V.7

Distribution of Sample by the Frequency of Contacts with Friends.

(N = 212)

Residential Areas	Never	Rarely	Some times	Often
Patkapur	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	72 (100.0)
Babupurwa	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (8.7)	63 (91.3)
Swaroop Nagar	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)	69 (97.2)
Total	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (3.8)	204 (96.2)

explained with the help of other significant variables.

In an attempt to explore the qualitative dimension of friendship contacts, questions were asked to spell out the nature of contacts with friends (See Table V.8). Unlike

16. Op. cit., p. 16.

kinship ties, here the overwhelming majority of the respondents (88.2 percent) have predominantly strong, intimate and mutual-aid giving ties with their friends. In only 11.8 percent cases, respondents have casual or formal contacts such as very formal visiting, accidental meetings or ceremonial functions and outings etc. In the later category, Swaroop Nagar breasts ahead with 22.6 percent of its respondents falling in this category while Patkapur and Babupurwa have only 1.4 and 11.6 percent respondents, respectively. This characteristic feature of Swaroop Nagar can be explained in terms of greater urban exposure of its population, and possibly high degree of formal participation. Length of stay in

Table V.8

Distribution of Sample by the Nature of Contacts with Friends

(N = 212)

Residential Areas	Casual Visiting only	Outings	Intimate Visiting	Help in Difficulties
Patkapur	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	46 (62.5)	26 (36.1)
Babupurwa	9 (11.6)	0 (0.0)	27 (39.1)	34 (49.3)
Swaroop Nagar	10 (14.1)	6 (8.5)	39 (54.9)	16 (22.5)
Total	20 (9.0)	6 (2.8)	112 (52.4)	76 (35.8)

Table V.9

The Nature of Contacts with Friends by the Income of Respondents

(N = 212)

Income (Annual)	Nature of contact with Friends		
	Casual	Intimate	Help in Difficulties
Less than Rs.3600	7 (8.7)	38 (47.5)	35 (43.8)
Rs. 3600 - 6000	3 (6.0)	26 (52.0)	21 (42.0)
Rs. 6001 - 12000	10 (20.0)	29 (58.0)	11 (22.0)
More than Rs.12000	5 (15.6)	19 (59.4)	8 (25.0)
Total	25 (11.8)	112 (52.8)	75 (35.4)

Chi square = 11.963, d.f. = 6, P = < .05

Table V.10

Nature of Contacts with Friends by Respondents' Settling in Kanpur

(N=212)

Settling in Kanpur	Nature of contact with friends		
	Casual	Intimate	Helping in Difficulties
No	8 (22.9)	11 (31.4)	16 (45.7)
Not definite	5 (9.3)	24 (44.4)	25 (46.3)
Yes	12 (9.8)	77 (62.6)	34 (27.6)
Total	25 (11.8)	112 (52.8)	75 (35.4)

Chi square = 15.293; d.f. = 4, P = < .05.

Kanpur does not seem to cause any significant difference in the nature of contacts (Table 21 , Appendix B). On the other hand, the nature of contacts with friends is significantly associated with the income of the respondents and their decision to settle permanently in Kanpur. These associations are clear from Tables V.9 and V.10.

Thus, our findings on friendship contacts lead us to conclude that friendship ties though structurally weakest of all primary ties, continue to be sustained in the urban situation. The only difference discernible is the greater dispersal of friendship ties as far as geographical boundaries are concerned. These findings are consistent with some other studies (Litwak and Szelenyi: 1969 and Gans: 1962) which report that social life tends to revolve around the group of congenial friends of a similar age, economic status and interests. These groups were not found to be formally structured, but rather existed as informal collectivities.

Neighbours:

Interpersonal relationships between persons living in close spatial proximity exist in almost all kinds of human settlements. But the form and content of neighbourhood interaction may differ with different communities as these communities may differ themselves in their economic, ecological, cultural, demographic and physical characteristics. The concept of neighbourhood interaction also is

shrouded by the myth of certain stereo-typed notions. To Wirth these contacts are 'impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental.'¹⁷ Cooley touches the other extreme when he categorically defines the neighbourhood as a primary group, ignoring the possibility of impersonal contacts.¹⁸

There has been a school of middle rangers also which feels that the patterns of neighbourhood interaction might be arranged on a continuum ranging from contacts characterised by extreme personal isolation of the residents to extreme integration of residents. (Gist and Fava: 1966). While the polar cases may be empirically non-existent, an individual neighbourhood might be placed somewhere on such a continuum.

Neighbourhood is a value-loaded concept and is often used synonymously with 'Community', particularly when the term is descriptive of a small, compact and relatively homogeneous place. James West, in describing Plainville, U.S.A. noted that the important function of a neighbourhood is to provide neighbours. The test of a neighbourhood is that the neighbours know one another, or that they may be mutually

17. Op. cit., p.

18. Cooley, C.H., 'Social Organisation', (1901).

aware of each other's existence and behave accordingly.¹⁹ The neighbourhood has always been a primary social control area which, as Dawson and Gettys assert, sets the standards of behaviour which are expected, and, exerts pressure upon those who deviate from those norms.²⁰ But in the present day urban community certain areas that might be called neighbourhoods do not have the primary group character, or it is found there only to a limited degree. Anderson calls these as 'neighbourhoods of secondary participation.'²¹

This controversy seems to be meaningless in the Indian context because as indicated by our findings 'neighbourhood' as a unit of intimate relationship is viable even in large cities like Kanpur. It is true that inter-personal relations and intimate contacts in the Indian urban situation too are not restricted to the 'neighbourhood' alone, but are diffused all over the city yet the neighbourhood continues to be an important source of surviving close-knit primary ties in the Indian city. Forces of urbanization and urbanism are causing differences in neighbourhood interaction in different parts of the city but these differences do not conform to the Western

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19. West, James, 'Plainville, U.S.A.', (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 71.
 20. Dawson, G.A. and Gettys, W.E., 'An Introduction to Sociology', (New York, Ronald Press, 1948), p. 17.
 21. Anderson, Nels; 'The Urban Community: A World Perspective', London, Routledge and K. Paul, 1959.

image where neighbourhood ties are considered to be decaying fast and assuming a casual, formal and superficial form. Andersonian neighbourhoods of extreme 'secondary participation' have yet to emerge in India.

The more urbanised a community, the more mobile its population tends to become. Some people move in and others move out. Neighbourhood acceptance in such a situation, as park described it, becomes selective and relationships more flexible.²² Some people may suffer isolation while others may seek isolation. A study of contemporary urban literature suggests that there seems to be a tendency in urbanized communities for people to think of themselves more as belonging to neighbourhoods and less as being neighbours. This is considered as one of the manifestations of urban life, secondary interaction and anonymity.

It was perhaps in this perspective that Reimer suggested the need for a new conception of neighbourhood. To him, associating neighbourhood with residential proximity does not fit the geographical realities of urban friendship and acquaintance. A small town cultural trait cannot be super-imposed upon the urban environment because in the city man has gained the freedom of making social contacts with little regard to geographical distance.²³

22. Park, R.E., 'The City', (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1925), pp. 6-7.

23. Reimer, S., 'Villagers in Metropolis', British Journal of Sociology, Vol. II, No. 1, (March, 1951), p. 40.

Table V.11 presents the distribution of respondents of the three residential areas by the location of their close friends in their own neighbourhood. The assumption was that in many a situation close friends might be immediate neighbours too. The respondents were asked to indicate an approximate proportion of their close friends living in the same residential area. The responses indicate that 57.4 percent of respondents have less than half of their close friends in the same locality while 24.4 percent have half or more of their close friends in the same locality. Only 17.3 percent respondents reported that none of their close friends lives in their locality while only .9 percent respondents touch the other extreme, indicating all of their

Table V.11

Distribution of Sample by Friends in the Neighbourhood
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	None	Few	Many	All
Patkapur	7 (9.3)	40 (53.3)	28 (37.3)	0 (0.0)
Babupurwa	19 (25.3)	41 (54.7)	15 (20.0)	0 (0.0)
Swaroop Nagar	13 (17.3)	48 (64.0)	12 (16.0)	2 (2.7)
Total	39 (17.3)	129 (57.4)	55 (24.4)	2 (0.9)

close friends living in the same locality. The preponderance of close friends concentrating in the same locality comes out in sharp contrast to the findings reported by the Greensboro (1962) and Rochester (Foley: 1952) studies. In the former 37 percent of the informants indicated that none of their best friends lived within five blocks of their residences, while in Rochester 38 percent indicated this.

On examining the inter-residential area differences we find that Patkapur on this aspect of neighbourliness, scores over the other two localities. In Patkapur 37.3 percent of its respondents have at least half or more of their close friends living in the same locality while for Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar the figures are 20 percent and 16 percent respectively. A study by Smith, Form and Stone, (1954) in a middle-sized city attributed the low degree of neighbourhood intimacy to the frequent changes of residence of families living there.²⁴ It seems that high residential mobility of Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa tends to reduce the probabilities of intimate neighbourhood contacts.

However, Fellin and Litwak believe that spatial mobility per se is not the crucial determinant of the nature and

24. Smith, Joel, William H., Form and Gregory P. Stone, 'Local Intimacy in a middle sized city', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX, No. 3 (November 1954), p. 279.

frequency of neighbourhood relations. High membership turnover can be overcome where groups can evolve modes of indoctrination.¹⁵ If an individual is rapidly accepted into the group, the group might survive considerable membership turnover. This seems to explain Patkapur's high degree of neighbourliness where neighbourhood centred participants provides the mechanism for such an indoctrination. This locality while on the one hand is not characterized by a very high degree of residential mobility, has on the other hand, structural forces which tend to mitigate whatever disruptive influences mobility generates.

An attempt has been made to obtain a quantified measure of neighbourliness of the respondents of the three localities with the help of a modified version of Bernard's neighbourliness scale.²⁶ Such a quantification is likely to add more precision and reliability to the earlier analysis and provide a sound basis for making comparative analysis. Table V.12 shows the distribution of respondents of the three areas by their degree of neighbourliness. As evident from the table 60.1 percent respondents have a medium degree of neighbourliness, 29.1 percent have high degree while only 10.8 percent

25. Fellin, Phillip and Eugene Litwak, 'Neighbourhood Cohesion Urban Conditions of Mobility', American Sociological Review, 28, (June 1963), pp. 364-76.

26. The scale has been discussed in detail in Chapter II, on 'Research Design and Methodology'.

Table V.12

Distribution of Sample by the Degree of Neighbourliness
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Low	Medium	High
Patkapur	1 (1.4)	38 (50.0)	36 (48.6)
Babupurwa	4 (5.4)	66 (87.8)	5 (6.8)
Swaroop Nagar	19 (25.3)	32 (42.7)	40 (32.0)
Total	24 (10.8)	136 (60.1)	65 (29.1)

have low degree of neighbourliness. Here again the finding corroborates our earlier finding that Patkapur fares much better in neighbourliness with 48.6 percent of its respondents reporting high degree of neighbourliness as against 6.8 percent and 32 percent of Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar, respectively. The poor score of Babupurwa may be explained in terms of the migrant nature of its population and low socio-economic status.

The findings on neighbourhood relationships in the three selected localities of Kanpur have been summarized in the Table 30; Appendix B. The major differences between the three areas appear to lie in the recognition of neighbours, exchanging favours with neighbours, discussing

problems, going for outings and movie with neighbours and joining informal neighbourhood groups. In all these manifest* neighbourly traits except outings and movie going, Patkapur has a distinct edge over the other two localities. Comparing Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar we find that Babupurwa scores more than Swaroop Nagar in most of these traits except in formal outings, exchange of vacours and joining of informal groups where Swaroop Nagar tends to have an edge over Babupurwa.

Social Co-associates of Neighbourliness:

Neighbourhood interaction is influenced by a number of factors. Recent studies, examining neighbourhood ties in urban surroundings, have indicated that neighbourliness is positively associated with length of stay in the city, in a particular locality and socio-economic status of the respondent. Individuals who have similar vocational, cultural, recreational or religious interests are likely to have more interaction if they reside close together in the same locality. Sweetser (1942) in his study of a neighbourhood in Bloomington, Indiana found that the factors of sex and age were important. More pronounced than sex selection, however was the tendency for people of all

* The distinction between 'manifest' and 'latent' relationships among the inhabitants of the same area is drawn by Peter Mann. 'Manifest neighbourliness' is that which takes the form of overt behaviour; visiting each other, going out together and so on; 'latent neighbourliness' refers to favourable attitudes which will result in manifest neighbourliness. See Peter, H. Mann, 'The Concept of Neighbourliness', American Journal of Sociology (September, 1934), Vo. LX, No. 2, p. 164.

ages to associate preferentially with their own age group, both on the intimate and the acquaintance level.²⁷

The Kanpur data have been analysed to explicate some of the co-associates of neighbourliness. Neighbourliness is significantly associated with the length of stay in Kanpur as illustrated by Table V.13. Among those respondents who have a high degree of neighbourliness, 72.7 percent have been living in the city for more than 20 years while only 27.3 percent for 20 years or less.

Table V.13

The Degree of Neighbourliness by the Length of Stay in Kanpur
(N = 225)

Length of Stay in Kanpur	Neighbourliness		
	Low	Medium	High
20 years and less	10 (13.3)	48 (62.7)	18 (24.0)
More than 20 years	13 (14.3)	61 (67.0)	17 (18.7)
Since Birth	1 (1.7)	26 (44.9)	31 (53.4)
Total	24 (10.7)	135 (59.8)	66 (29.5)

Chi square = 24.685; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

27. Sweetser, Frank L., 'A New Emphasis for Neighbourhood Research', American Sociological Review, Vol. 7 No. 4, (August 1942), pp. 525-33.

Similarly, neighbourliness is dependent on the respondent's plan for settling down in Kanpur also. The table (V.14) shows a very significant degree of association.

Table V.14

The Degree of Neighbourliness by Settling in Kanpur
(N = 225)

Settling in Kanpur	Neighbourliness		
	Low	Medium	High
No	10 (25.0)	23 (57.5)	7 (17.5)
Not definite	8 (14.5)	39 (70.9)	8 (14.5)
Yes	6 (4.7)	72 (55.8)	52 (39.8)
Total	24 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	67 (29.5)

Chi square = 24.849, d.f. = 2; $P = < .05$

The table reveals that the respondents who have high degree of neighbourliness (77.3 percent) have settled or decided to settle in Kanpur while the rest (22.7) percent) have not decided to settle or are indefinite about it.*

Earlier background of the respondent also has significant association with the degree of neighbourliness. The two variables have a strong degree of association, (See Table: 22, Appendix B). Socio-economic status too is significantly associated with neighbourliness (See Table : 23,

* Percentages as worked out column-wise.

Appendix B). A similar trend is evinced in the relationship of education and neighbourliness (Table : 24, Appendix B) where it has been found that 45.5 percent of the respondents characterised by high degree of neighbourliness come from a highly educated class of people. Similarly, income too is not independent of neighbourliness (Table: 25, Appendix B). Neighbourliness seems to be dependent of age too, as the two variables show significant association (See Table : 26, Appendix B). The table shows that of those who have a high degree of neighbourliness 59 percent are in the 40-59 years age group. On the other hand neighbourliness seems to be independent of religion, and caste of the respondent Tables: 28 and 29 in Appendix B reveal insignificant degrees of association.

Cross-tabulation and tests of significance show that neighbourliness seems to be the function of length of stay, desire to settle down in the city, socio-economic status of the respondent and his earlier urban background. ($N = f(L + S + SES + B)$). While one cannot ascribe unilinearity to this function relationship it does help in working out the social correlates of neighbourliness. Cross tabulation and the application of the test of significance helped in examining the association of neighbourliness with a few social factors. The factors which have a high degree of association with neighbourliness are length of stay in Kanpur settling in Kanpur, place of stay before in-migration

to Kanpur, socio-economic status, education, income and in-migrant or native status of the respondents. Religion, age and caste have not been significantly associated with neighbourliness. The findings to illuminate these correlates of neighbourliness have been further summarized in Table : 30, Appendix B.

Another dimension of neighbourliness was tapped by asking the respondents the number of neighbours with whom they have intimate and greeting relationships. The assumption was that the more urbanized a locality would be the more would be the number of reported greeting relationships and lesser would be the number of intimate relationships.

Table V.15 shows that only 17.9 percent respondents have greeting relationships with less than 50 persons in

Table V.15

Distribution of Sample by the Greeting Relations in the Neighbourhood
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	With less than 50 persons	50-100 persons	101-250 persons	More than 250 persons
Patkapur	4 (5.4)	16 (21.6)	21 (28.4)	34 (44.6)
Babupurwa	19 (25.3)	37 (49.3)	14 (18.7)	5 (6.7)
Swaroop Nagar	17 (22.7)	32 (42.6)	17 (22.7)	9 (12.0)
Total	40 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	48 (21.0)

the locality. 37.9 percent have with 50 to 100 persons, 23.2 percent with 101 to 250 persons and 21 percent respondents have greeting relationships with more than 250 persons in the neighbourhood. Interlocality comparison does not support the assumption as we find that Swaroop Nagar, the relatively more urbanized of the three localities, have only 12 percent of respondents who have greeting relationships with more than 250 persons while for Patkapur this figure is 44.6 percent. Table V.16 discusses the intimate relations in the neighbourhood and we find that 39.2 percent respondents have intimate contacts with less than 4 persons in the neighbourhood, another 36.5 percent have intimate relations with 4 - 10 neighbours while 18 percent respondents

Table V.16

Distribution of Sample by Intimate Relations in the Neighbourhood

(N=225)

Residential Areas	No Answer*	With none	With less than 4 persons	4 - 10 persons	More than 10 persons
Patkapur	1	1 (1.4)	20 (27.0)	35 (47.3)	18 (24.3)
Babupurwa	0	8 (10.7)	44 (56.7)	17 (22.6)	6 (8.0)
Swaroop Nagar	2	5 (6.8)	23 (31.5)	29 (39.8)	16 (21.9)
Total	3	14 (6.3)	87 (39.2)	81 (36.5)	40 (18.0)

* The percentages do not include responses in the column 1.

have intimate relations with more than 10 neighbours. Inter-locality comparison suggests a somewhat queer phenomenon partially disproving our assumption. Both Patkarpur and Swaroop Nagar have a majority of their respondents, roughly two-third in the category who have intimate neighbourly relations with more than 4 persons while in Babupurwa not even one-third of the respondents come in this category. This finding also differs from the Western model which postulates that neighbouring gradually increases with distance from the city centre (Pava: 1958). In our study the city centre has the highest degree of neighbourliness and neighbourliness tends to decrease with distance from the city centre.

On cross tabulation of the data and application of test of significance we find that the magnitude of greeting relations is significantly associated with settling in Kanpur, socio-economic status; income; length of stay in Kanpur; education and immigrant nature of the respondents. Similarly the magnitude of intimate contacts in the neighbourhood also is significantly associated with in-migrant/native types of respondents; education; income; length of stay in Kanpur and length of stay in other cities, (See Tables 32-34, 36, 38-45, Appendix B).

The responses in answer to the question that 'would you like to live in some other locality?' again confirm the

picture drawn above. The table V.17 shows that a majority of the respondents (84 percent) do not want any shift irrespective of the locality in which they are living. Inter-locality comparisons reveal that while Swaroop Nagar a posh, high class locality has 93.3 percent of its respondents disfavoured the shift, the other two residential areas do not lag behind much. In Patkapur and Babupurwa the percentages of those disfavoured the shift are 73.3 percent and 85.3 percent respectively. While it is true that this dis-favour of shift may be for physical and economic reasons too, yet social and interpersonal factors cannot be discounted. In the case of Patkapur, particularly, these factors are significant as the area lacks considerably in physical facilities and living conditions.

Table V.17

Distribution of Sample by the Willingness to Shift the Locality.

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Yes	No preference	No
Patkapur	20 (26.7)	0 (0.0)	55 (73.3)
Babupurwa	9 (12.0)	2 (2.7)	64 (85.3)
Swaroop Nagar	5 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	70 (93.3)
Total	34 (15.1)	2 (0.9)	189 (84.0)

These findings suggest that as indicated above neighbourliness, intimate contacts and greeting relations in the neighbourhood seem to be the functions of length of stay in Kanpur (an urbanization variable), socio-economic status of the respondent and his plan to settle in the city. It means that the respondent who has stayed in the city of Kanpur for quite some period, has decided to settle permanently in the city and enjoys relatively better socio-economic status is likely to have more greeting relations in the neighbourhood, more intimate ties with his neighbours and scores high on the measurement scale of neighbourliness. Our findings do not support * the Western thesis which holds that increased urban exposure should cause decreased magnitude of intimate and close neighbourhood ties (Foley: 1952).

The contrast with the findings of Western studies is interesting. These studies, including those of Middle West (Useem, Useem and Gibson: 1960), Rochester (Foley: 1952) and Greensboro (Gulick, Bowerman and Back: 1962) report that 'neighbouring' involves a number of frequent and suitable activities but that intense, intimate relationships are not generally included in these.

Co-workers:

Co-workers provide another avenue for fruitful personal relationships and mutual aid-giving in the urban

situation. The specialised occupational structure of the city and pronounced division of labour puts greater emphasis on ties which an individual has with his fellow workers. Many a times his contacts in the neighbourhood are based on this phenomenon. The Detroit Area Study (Axelord: 1956) reported that about one-third respondents associated with their co-workers at least once a month.

Our data suggest that while contacts with co-workers are not very extensive yet they are not negligible. The table (V.18), presenting the distribution of the frequency of contacts with co-workers by the three residential areas

Table V.18

Distribution of sample by the Frequency of Contacts With co-workers.

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	N.A.*	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Patkapur	11	30 (46.9)	7 (10.9)	9 (14.1)	18 (28.1)
Babupurwa	0	44 (58.7)	8 (10.7)	4 (5.3)	19 (25.3)
Swaroop Nagar	8	31 (46.3)	10 (14.9)	12 (17.9)	14 (20.9)
Total	19	105 (51.0)	25 (12.1)	25 (12.1)	51 (24.8)

* The percentages do not include responses in column 1.

reveals that 51 percent respondent do not have any contact with their co-workers. About one-fourth (24.2 percent) see their co-workers at least once a month while another 24.8 percent respondents see their co-workers more often i.e. more than three times a month. Surprisingly, there is not much difference in contacts with co-workers as far as the three localities are concerned which suggests that the degree of contacting the co-workers is similar to almost all the areas of the city.

The data on the nature of contacts with co-workers do not reveal much as the majority of the respondents could not define their contacts with co-workers. However we may infer that these contacts are of the casual nature as only

Table V.19

Distribution of Sample by the Nature of Contacts with Co-workers.

(N = 101)

Residential Areas	Casual	Other than casual
Patkapur	24 (92.3)	10 (7.7)
Babupurwa	27 (87.1)	4 (12.9)
Swaroop Nagar	32 (88.8)	4 (11.2)
Total	83 (82.1)	18 (17.9)

17.9 percent of the responding informants reported these ties to be of more than casual nature as illustrated by Table V.19. These casual ties with the co-workers include formal visiting, meeting in professional or trade union meetings etc.²⁸

Cross tabulation of this data suggests that these contacts are not significantly associated with the length of stay, type of neighbourhood but are significantly associated with Income as illustrated in Table V. 20. Thus our

Table V. 20

Frequency of Contacts with Co-workers by the Income of Respondents
(N = 206)*

Annual Income	Frequency of contacts with Co-workers			
	N.A.	Never	Two or three times a month	More than three times
Less than Rs.3600	2	49 (59.8)	12 (14.6)	21 (25.6)
Rs. 3600-6000	7	29 (59.2)	9 (18.4)	11 (22.4)
Rs. 6001-12000	5	20 (42.6)	17 (36.1)	10 (21.3)
More than Rs.12000	5	8 (28.6)	11 (39.3)	9 (32.1)
Total	19	106 (51.4)	49 (23.8)	51 (24.8)

Chi square = 15.567; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

* The percentage do not include responses in column 1.

28. It is to be clarified here that 'co-workers' have been defined as those persons who work with the respondents but do not come in the categories of his friends or neighbours. Such a definition is in order to eliminate the overlapping and to maintain the exclusiveness of the category.

findings lead us to conclude that though co-workers do not ennate intimate or informal ties, they do have a place of their own in the relationship system of the urbanite in the Indian situation. Contacts with co-workers are presumed to provide an added functional significance as they tend to relate the individual with his job situation and many a times in a satisfying manner.

Informal Participation: The integrated picture:

So far the discussion has centred around on different varieties of informal participation, namely kin, friends, neighbours and co-workers. Application of a four point scale provided us with the summary measure of informal participation as a whole.²⁹ An identical method was followed by Tomch (1964) who conducted a study to distinguish population effect from area effect as far as informal group participation was concerned.

Table V.21, showing the distribution of informal participation scores by the locality, indicates that very few respondents i.e. only 3.7 percent have a low degree of informal participation on our measurement. The majority, constituting 59.6 percent of the total respondents has a medium level of informal participation whereas the rest 37.3 percent respondents fall in the category of respondents who

29. The scale has been discussed in detail, in Chapter II.

can be termed as highly participant as far as informal groups are concerned. If we have to rank-order the three localities on this measurement of informal participation, the sequence to follow would be Patkapur, Swaroopnagar and Babupurwa. Of the respondents who have a high degree of informal participation 41.7 percent come from Patkapur, 34.5 percent from Swaroop Nagar and only 23.8 percent from Babupurwa.

Table V.21

Distribution of Sample by the Informal Participation
(N = 225)

Residential Area	Low	Medium	High
Patkapur	0 (0.0)	40 (53.3)	35 (46.7)
Babupurwa	3 (4.0)	52 (69.3)	20 (26.7)
Swaroop Nagar	4 (5.3)	42 (56.0)	29 (38.7)
Total	7 (3.1)	134 (59.6)	84 (37.3)

The application of the Chi square test reveals that this summary measure of informal participation is significantly associated with the length of stay in Kanpur, stay in cities other than Kanpur, and to some extent with religion (See Tables 48, 49, Appendix B). The cross tabulation of the data

on informal participation with length of stay in Kanpur has been shown in Table V.22. The table reveals that 73.8 per cent of the respondents with a high degree of informal participation are those who have been living in the city for more than twenty years.*

Table V.22

Informal Participation Score by the Length of Stay in
Kanpur

(N = 225)

Length of Stay in Kanpur	<u>Informal Participation</u>	
	Low	High
Less than 20 years	54 (71.1)	22 (28.9)
More than 20 years	58 (63.7)	33 (36.3)
Since Birth	29 (50.0)	29 (50.0)
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)

Chi square = 6.307; d.f. = 2; $P = < .05$

Informal participation seems to be independent of caste, income, socio-economic status, family size and education, (See Tables: 50-55, Appendix B).

A better and composite picture of informal participation has been presented in Table V.23 by comparing the

* The percentages are worked out column-wise.

frequency of contacts in each of the informal groups. From the point of view of frequency of contacts, friends and relatives seem to constitute the most important informal ties. The rank order of the comparative importance of the types may be construed as (i) friends, (ii) relatives, (iii) neighbours, and (iv) co-workers. Axelord's study of the Detroit Area reported this rank order as (i) relatives, (ii) friends (iii) neighbours, and (iv) co-workers.

Table V.23

Frequency of Contacts with Several Types of Informal Groups
(in percentage)

(N = 225)

Frequency of Contacts	Informal Group			
	Relatives	Friends	Neighbours	Co-workers
Never	-	-	-	51.0
Rarely	9.6	-	23.1	12.1
Sometimes	25.9	3.8	51.1	12.1
Often	64.5	96.2	25.8	24.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2 Another table (V.24) provides a comparative picture of informal participation in the three residential areas. In this situation it is rather difficult to reduce the rank order as it is changing from item to item. However, the

cumulative impression conveyed by the table ranks Patkapur on top, Swaroop Nagar in the middle and Babupurwa on the bottom. Patkapur's top ranking can be explained in terms

Table V.24

Comparison of Informal Ties in the Three Residential Areas
of Kanpur

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Relatives			Co-Workers	
	No. of relati- ves in town percent 3 and more	Contacts with re- latives percent sometimes and often	Nature of contacts percent intimate and help- giving	Visiting co-workers percent sometimes and often	Nature of vi- siting percent intimate
Patkapur	81.3	98.6	59.1	32.2	7.7
Babupurwa	54.6	86.4	65.2	30.6	-
Swaroop Nagar	60.0	65.0	41.6	38.8	5.9

Residential Areas	Friends		
	No. of friends percent more than five	Visiting friends percent often	Nature of contacts percent intimate and help- giving
Patkapur	46.7	100.0	98.6
Babupurwa	26.7	91.3	88.4
Swaroop Nagar	72.0	97.2	77.4

of its large population being native, even in-migrants having greater length of stay and more people being committed to settling in the city. The reverse order can be presented to analyse the cases of Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar. But it must be emphasized here that the differences between the three residential areas are only marginal and not very substantial.

From the analysis of informal participation in the three residential areas of Kanpur, the following conclusions suggest themselves:

1. Kinsmen and especially, friends play an important part in the lives of the respondents. Contrary to the postulates of the traditional urban stereo-type, Kanpur residents are not typically deprived of close, affectional ties. They have a sufficient number of satisfactory relationships with friends, kinsmen and neighbours. The preponderance of high participation, general and particular among the majority of the respondents should not be misconstrued. It does not mean that their lives are completely idyllic, free of stresses and anxities. It does mean, however, that the urban environment in the city has not prevented them from achieving a reasonably contented existence. This, in view of the prevailing notions about 'the city' and its alleged malevolent effects on social participation, is an important finding.

2. It would appear that the frequent though relatively rather superficial interpersonal relationships which characterize the Indian urban neighbourhood should be regarded as functional, rather than a dysfunctional phenomenon. To put the matter in other words, urban neighbouring like other informal contacts, can be seen as an additive, rather than as an unsatisfactory substitutive, dimension of urban social participation.

3. Contacts with co-workers are neither very extensive nor intensive yet, reflect an added functional significance as they tend to relate the urbanite to his job situation and to some extent, in a satisfying manner.

CHAPTER VI

FORMAL PARTICIPATION

While the earlier chapter is devoted to an analysis of informal participation in the three residential areas of Kanpur metropolis, this chapter would concentrate on delineating the other dimension of social participation i.e. formal participation, another significant dependent variable for this study and a major clue in an examination of the mode of urbanism in the Indian situation.

Formal participation includes many aspects, each of which is important to community structure and change. Chapin pointed out five of these in constructing a scale for the measurement of participation.¹ Such a scale has been used in this study to measure formal participation and the resultant data have been reported in this chapter.

The number of factors that may be associated with differential rates of participation in formal organizations may be large. It costs money to belong to most of the

1. The five components pointed out by Chapin were membership of formal organisations, attendance at meetings, financial contributions other than the membership fees, membership of special committees and holding of offices in voluntary organisations. See Chapin, F. Stuart; 'Experimental Designs in Sociological Research', (New York, Harper, 1955).

voluntary organisations and associations. Physical mobility is required for participation. Occupational and vocational interests demand active participation in formal organisations. This chapter would concentrate on an intensive study and analysis of formal participation and its relationship with variables like, age, caste, income, socio-economic status, occupation and the length of stay in the city etc.

Sociologists have long recognized a correlation between urbanization and the development of voluntary associations. The underlying theoretical assumption has been that urbanisation as a social process consists of the progressive displacement of 'primary' by 'secondary' groups in the social structure. As a matter of fact two views which have been stressed in sociological literature have to do with the relation of urbanisation to voluntary group participation. The more traditional view largely attributed to the 'Chicago School' emphasises the impersonality of relationships in the urban community, the wide importance of formal and secondary group association, and, the decline of the kinship group. Simmel was perhaps the first to give this idea an explicit formulation. To him, urbanisation has two main consequences from the socio-psychological standpoint: individuation of the personality on the one hand and the multiplication of social groups on the other.²

2. Spykman, N.J., 'The Social Theory of George Simmel', (Chicago: 1925), pp. 191-192.

Louis Wirth provided a classic expression of this view while summing up the theory bearing upon social organisation in the city. He stated this relationship as follows:

Being reduced to a stage of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar interests into organised groups to obtain his ends. This results in the enormous multiplication of voluntary organisations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs or interests.³

The recent view, while admitting this in principle, does not subscribe to the extremity of this thesis and gives informal group contacts a more important place (Whyte: 1943; Dotson: 1951; Foley: 1952 and Axelord: 1952). Evidence has accumulated through researches of Kamarovsky and others that formally organised voluntary associations although numerous in the urban milieu, are unevenly distributed among the various social strata of the population. The results suggested that the 'secondary' group nature of leisure time association in the city may be exaggerated in conventional accounts of urban social structure. The City-dweller neither participates that extensively in formal organisations nor does he exhibit the socially isolated and disorganised patterns in life as visualised by the protagonists of urban stereo-type. The role of informal social participation, particularly within the family and kin-groups, has been consistently under-estimated by students of the modern city.

3. Op. cit., p. 61.

The resolution of these different emphases is a critical and fundamental problem, necessary to a better understanding of any community in particular and urban social organisation in general. Many a time the answer lies in the examination of the 'scale' and cultural diversities of the society meant to be studied. Within the scope of our limited and focussed inquiry, attempts have been made to provide answers to the following questions bearing on the more general problem.

1. What is the extent of participation in voluntary organisations in the large urban community of India; that is how many people participate in formal groups or voluntary organisations?
2. What is the extent to which various economic and social segments of the community are characterised by distinctive or different patterns of formal participation ?
3. What are some of the important independent factors to which this formal participation is significantly associated ? What is the extent of this association and correlation ?

We will examine these questions on the basis of data followed in this chapter.

Voluntary Organisations and Their Membership:

Voluntary organisations play an important role in the lives of modern men living and working in an urban environment.

In the industrialised cities of the west these associations or organisations* have flourished without precedent. One of the outstanding characteristics of American urban living is said to be the great number and variety of clubs, organisations, societies, leagues and similar associations into which people group themselves and through which they pursue their interests.⁴ A definite membership, a formal structure, offices and staffing, regular meetings and a name are some of the major characteristics of formal organisations.

It has been theorised that voluntary organisations flourish in a social setting in which the community can no longer function as an all inclusive social group. The growth of big urban centres have created conditions fertile for the extensive development of associations. Social differentiation, heterogeneity and large urban aggregates are some of the major factors responsible for this development. The loss of economic, educational protective and recreational functions of family, church and neighbourhood community, has largely contributed to the growth of voluntary associations. Consequently, voluntary associations have been increasingly relied upon to make up these losses. These voluntary associations are also considered to be integrative both for

* The terms formal organisations, voluntary organisations and voluntary associations have been used interchangeably in this study.

4. The famous quotation from Tocqueville summarises the American situation: 'Whenever, at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association'. See Tocqueville, Alexis De, 'Democracy in America' (Oxford University Press, New York, 1947), p. 319.

society and for the individual, as well as providing a direct way for individuals to initiate change. This has led sociologists to show a continued interest in group participation in voluntary associations (Goldhammer: 1964; Hagedorn and Laboritz; 1967). In this perspective we will examine the Kanpur data.

There is reason to believe that voluntary associations have not flourished in most Asian Cities to the extent that they have developed in the West. Many of the associations in Asian Cities are importations - relics of imperialism and aspects of the process of westernization e.g. Rotary, Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, Sports Clubs etc. A survey of Kolhapur city revealed only 63 voluntary associations which included to western style clubs. The study reported that less than 4 percent of the population of the city had any direct contacts with such organisations.⁵ Similarly, a sociological study of Tokyo indicated that the residents did not rely very heavily on formal organisations. In a sample of 104 adults, only 25 reported memberships in 31 associations.⁶

Table VI.1 shows the distribution of voluntary organisations in the three residential areas of the Kanpur metropolis.

5. Sovani, N.V., 'Social Survey of Kolhapur City', (Gokhale Institute, Poona, 1952).

6. Dore, R.P., 'City Life in Japan', 1938, pp. 245-246.

The three areas have 86 voluntary organisations in total, a number which is fairly large and favourably comparable to Western Cities. N.K. Bose in his social survey of Calcutta, sponsored by the Anthropological Society of India, points out a similar preponderance of voluntary organizations. Members of different linguistic groups in Calcutta have built up, in course of time a little less than two thousand voluntary institutions to cater to resident's education, recreational, welfare, religious and cultural needs.⁷ Of these three areas

Table VI.1

The Distribution of Voluntary Organisations by the Three Residential Areas

(N = 86)

Residential Areas	Type of Organisations*						Total
	Fra- ternal	Recrea- tional	Wel- fare	Edu- cational	Eco- nomic	Religi- ous	
Patkapur	4	10	3	4	0	6	27
Babupurva	6	4	2	3	4	2	21
Swaroop Nagar	3	8	8	12	0	7	38
Total	13	22	13	19	4	15	86

* It may be admitted here that it is rather difficult to place an organisation into an exclusive category as generally, these organisations overlap in types and functions. However, one can always identify the main function from the subsidiary ones which can help in placing them in almost exclusive categories for analysis purposes.

7. Bose, N.K., 'Calcutta: A Social Survey (1964)! (Lalvani Publishing House, Bombay, 1968).

Swaroop Nagar, the higher socio-economic status locality has the highest number of voluntary organisations (38) as compared to Patkapur (27) and Babupurwa (21). The latter two are mutually comparable. The 'type-wise' distribution suggests that recreational and educational organisations are in greater proportion, followed by religious, welfare and fraternal organisations. The locality-wise comparison indicates that Patkapur has a greater proportion of recreational and religious organisations, Babupurwa fraternal, recreational and economic organisations and Swaroop Nagar abounds in organisations with educational, recreational and welfare bias. The only four economic organisations are in Babupurwa, the low-income class labour colony.

For the most part, the associations and organisations derive from traditional groupings or practices (for example, Dhanush Yagya Sabha, Dadhi-Kandam Samiti and Ramila Committee in Patkapur; Holi-Mela Committee, Satsang Mandals and Manas Sangh in Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa Kirtan Mandal, Ramayan Mandal in Babupurwa). They have developed various modern procedures but their mainspring is indigenous. In Swaroop Nagar a number of benevolent societies have a philanthropic function and carry acts of charity and kindness. Swaroop Nagar Nagarik Sangh (citizens council), for example, runs an eye-dispensary, and Yuvak Sangh (youth association) distributes blankets and food to pavement - dwellers and destitutes and carries out relief or social service work of different nature.

Influence of education and modern living has promoted modern associations i.e. cultural associations that are western in orientation and recruit their membership at a more advanced level of education, occupation or socio-economic status. Their main *raison d'être* and the common bond of interest, is specifically in the attainment of modern cultural and social standards. Unlike other species of voluntary organisations these are not confined to the neighbourhood alone but rather have the city, state or national affiliations. The Rotary Club, Lions, Masons, Merchants Chamber of Commerce and British India Corporation Club etc. are some of the organisations that can be placed in this category.

Another variety of such organisations is of social clubs modelled on the 'European Clubs' established by British. The membership, here too, is selective and facilities quite often include a hall with cane furniture, a bar, dance floor, a billiards table, a tennis court and a games room. Theoretically, membership is open to all but the entrance and monthly subscription are usually beyond the means of low income or even middle income class people.

Educational organisations are more active in higher socio-economic status neighbourhoods and include organisations like nurseries, primary schools, higher secondary schools, coaching institutes and tutorial houses, many of them not officially recognized by the Education Department. A few crafts school and vocational training institutions also exist.

These educational organizations are founded by religious bodies, influential families or by plain and simple proprietary, profit making individuals or institutions. Another variety of typing and short-hand institutes and music and dance schools are exclusively commercial establishments.

Another species of organisations are for women and include associations like Ladies Club, Mahila Kalyan Samiti (Women Welfare Association), Coffee Club and local branches of all India organisations like Indian Conference for Women, Indian Housewives Association, YWCA etc. These associations organise fetes, run baby shows and bazaars and raise funds for charitable purposes.

Fraternal associations are more popular in Babupurwa and Patkapur, neighbourhoods that have relatively greater share of rural in-migrants and lower-income class people. These associations are more informally organised and recruit members on the basis of caste, region, language and religion. Kanya Kubja Mandal, Bhojpuri Samaj, Gausia Anjuman Committee, Bengali Association and Garhwal Bhratra Mandal in Babupurwa and Scheduled Caste Young Men Association, Kayastha Young Men Association, Agrawal Sabha, Maheshwari Mandal etc. in Patkapur, are the organisations which can be classed in this category. These organisations approximate in structure and functioning the primary groupings of pre-migration period and are typical manifestations of in-migrant's adaptive

mechanism in the urban milieu. These organisations are, generally, neighbourhood based but a few of them have city units on the apex.

Finally, Sports Clubs are another important form of voluntary activity. All the three residential areas have these clubs and members include persons of every class. Football, hockey, cricket, volleyball and indoor games like chess, bridge, chaupar (dices), kite-flying, carrom etc. are quite popularly played in these clubs. Tournaments and leagues bring many of these clubs together and generate considerable activity and excitement. Organisations like Nehru Club, Dip Shikha Club, Friends Sports Club, Jai Bharat Football Club etc. in Patkapur; Babupurwa Volleyball Club, Ashok Cricket Club etc. in Babupurwa and Adarsha Club, Bal Nikunja and Swaroop Nagar Yuvak Sangh in Swaroop Nagar, can be classed in this category.

After this brief discussion on the types of voluntary organisations, we can now take-up the issue of membership of these organisations. Table VI.2 shows the distribution of respondents of the three residential areas by the membership of voluntary organisations. The table indicates that a majority of the respondents (70.2 percent) is member of at least one formal organisation. Only 67 respondents (29.8 percent) said that they belonged to no formal organisation. Comparing the three residential areas we find that Swaroop Nagar has

the highest percentage of respondents who belong to at least one formal organisation. The percentage for Swaroop Nagar is 81.3 as compared to 68 and 61.3 for Patkapur and Babupurwa respectively. The overall data reveal a considerably higher

Table VI.2

Distribution of Sample by the Membership of Voluntary Organisations

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	No	Yes
Patkapur	24 (32.0)	51 (68.0)
Babupurwa	29 (38.7)	46 (61.3)
Swaroop Nagar	14 (18.7)	61 (81.3)
Total	67 (29.8)	158 (70.2)

incidence of formal organisation membership. The Kanpur data compare favourably with the Durham data which indicated that 45 percent of the sample belonged to no formal organisation against 30 percent in the Kanpur data (Gulick, Bowerman and Back: 1962).

Bell's study of the four neighbourhoods of San Francisco revealed that although the four urban neighbourhoods were widely

divergent with respect to economic level and extent of family life, over three-fourth of the men held membership in at least one formal group.⁸ Similarly, the Detroit study revealed that nearly 83 percent of the sample were members of formal groups.⁹ On the other hand the Liverpool study reported the paucity of contacts with social organisations for all sections of the city. It observed that 62 percent households had none of their members attached to any social institutions.¹⁰ The study, however, found a significant association between length of residence in the area and the membership of various recreative and social organisations. This association was explained as a result of the general settling-in process whereby a family established itself in a locality and developed contacts with social organisations of the area and identified its 'social space' (Vereker and Mays: 1955-56). An identical trend was reported by Goldhammer too, who reported that contrary to the popular notion that almost every American belongs to four or five formal organisations, the number of persons without any organisational affiliations was considerable. About 30 percent of the men and 40 percent of the women in the sample reported no affiliations at all.¹¹

8. Bell, Wendell, and Maryaraine T. Force, 'Urban Neighbourhood Types and Participation in Formal Association', American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, (1965), pp. 25-34.

9. Axelord, Morris, 'Urban Structure and Social Participation', American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, (Feb. 1956), pp. 13-18.

10. Vereker, G. and John Barron Mays, 'Urban Redevelopment and Social Change: A Study of Social Conditions in Central Liverpool', (1955-56),

11. Goldhammer, H.; Op. cit., pp. 230-31.

Table VI.3, VI.4 and VI.5 shed some light on the nature, type and functioning of voluntary organizations to which respondents belong. Table VI.3 makes it clear that professional recreational and welfare organisations have the largest membership (81, 72 and 69 respectively). While Swaroop Nagar leads in welfare organisation membership, Patkapur is ahead in professional organisation membership while Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar are mutually comparable. Babupurwa has a distinct edge over other two localities in terms of economic organisation membership, a fact that suggests that such organisations have greater functional significance for rural immigrants occupying lower positions and provide a measure of security and companionship.

Table VI.3

The Distribution of Formal Organisation Memberships
by the Type of Organisation

(N = 350)

Type	Locality			Total
	Patkapur	Babupurwa	Swaroop Nagar	
Professional	35	21	25	81
Recreational	30	11	31	72
Welfare	17	5	47	69
Political	15	3	3	21
Economic	3	30	3	36
Religious	12	5	12	29
Fraternal	3	2	13	18
Educational	9	4	8	21
National	1	2	-	3
Total	125	83	142	350

The next table (VI.4) shows the distribution of voluntary organisation membership by organisation's area of operation. It reveals that a greater majority of membership (195) is in organisations that operate at the city level. Next come those organisations which are neighbourhood based (96), followed by those (59) which operate beyond city limits also. Such a distribution is valid for all the three residential areas though Swaroop Nagar and Patkapur have larger proportions of organisations operating outside the boundaries of the neighbourhood.

Table VI.4

Distribution of Voluntary Organisation Membership by
Organisation's area of Operation

(N = 350)

Residential Areas	Area of Operation			Total
	Neighbour- hood only	City	Outside city	
Patkapur	41	62	22	125
Babupurwa	20	53	10	83
Swaroop Nagar	35	80	27	142
Total	96	195	59	350

Table VI.5 presents the secular and non-secular distribution of voluntary organisation membership. The distribution suggests that more than three-fourth of such membership (78.9 percent) is in secular organisations and the rest, a little less than one-fourth (21.1 percent) in non-secular organisations. Again this kind of distribution is valid for almost all the three areas. This mixed nature of voluntary organisation memberships suggests the distinctive character of Indian urban-dwellers formal participation.

Table VI.5

Distribution of Voluntary Organisations Membership by
Organisation's Secular and Non-Secular
Type.

(N = 350)

Residential Areas	<u>Nature of Working</u>		Total
	Secular	Nonsecular	
Patkapur	94	31	125
Babupurwa	72	11	83
Swaroop Nagar	112	30	142
Total	278	72	350

On cross-tabulating the formal organisation membership with other variables it was found that it is significantly associated with variables that denote a respondents' urban exposure and experience and his socio-economic status. Formal organisation membership is significantly associated with settling in Kanpur, size of towns stayed in before coming to Kanpur and the place from which he came to Kanpur (See Tables: 56, 57 and 58; Appendix B).

Similarly formal organisation membership has a high degree of association with socio-economic status and its related variables. The tables in the appendix show that formal organisation membership is significantly associated with socio-economic status, education, income and caste (See Tables: 59-62; Appendix B).

An obvious explanation of this pattern of association can be the fact that people with good education, high income and status-occupation usually have an easy access to voluntary organisations, especially these organizations which function on a relatively more secular and specialized interest oriented pattern. These organisations such as the Rotary, the Masons and the Lions have a restricted and selective membership based on the factors discussed above. These factors also explain the relatively high formal organisation membership rate in Swaroop Nagar - a neighbourhood which has a higher proportion of residents with good education, high income and status-occupations.

The San Francisco study also demonstrated a similar kind of finding when it reported that men living in high economic status neighbourhoods belong to a greater number of associations, attend meetings more frequently and hold offices more than men living in low economic status neighbourhoods.¹²

Time Spent With Formal Organisations:

In an attempt to measure the extent of participation in formal organisations, respondents were asked to indicate the time they usually devote to these formal organisations. Table VI.6 reveals the information obtained against this question. The data indicate that 20.6 percent of formal

Table VI.6
Distribution of Sample by the Time Spent with Formal
Organisation
(N = 158)

Residential Areas	Less than 6 hrs.	6-10 hrs.	11-25 hrs.	25 and more hours
Patkapur	7 (15.1)	12 (22.6)	19 (35.8)	14 (26.4)
Babupurwa	20 (43.5)	12 (26.1)	8 (17.4)	6 (13.0)
Swaroop Nagar	6 (9.8)	12 (19.7)	26 (42.6)	16 (27.9)
Total	33 (20.6)	36 (23.1)	53 (33.2)	36 (23.1)

12. Bell, Wendell, Op. cit., pp. 33-34.

organisation members devote less than 6 hrs. a month, 23.1 percent devote 6 to 10 hours a month, 33.2 percent 11 to 25 hours and 23.1 percent devote more than 25 hours a month with formal organisations; combining these categories it is found that 43.7 percent respondents devote less than 10 hours a month with formal organisations and the rest 56.3 percent spend more than 10 hours a month with formal organisations. We may infer from the data that the membership of formal organisations is not always nominal and peripheral, but, amounts to a certain degree of involvement in as much as the respondent devoted time to these organisations.

Comparing the three residential areas we find that Swaroop Nagar has a greater percentage of respondents who spend more than 10 hours a month with formal organisations. The percentage for Swaroop Nagar is 70.5 while for Patkpur too it is favourably comparable with 62.2 percent of its formal organisation members spending more than 10 hours a month. It is only in the case of Babupurwa that the percentage is strikingly low as here only 30.4 percent of the respondents fall in this category.

The cross-tabulation and the application of the test of significance has proved that this variable of 'time spent with' formal organisations is significantly associated with socio-economic status and its other determinants i.e. education, income and caste etc. Tables: 64, 65 and 66; Appendix B,

present the cross-tabulation of the two variables i.e. time spent in formal organisations and socio-economic status.

Number of Formal Organisations:

Another measurement of formal participation has been attempted by examining the magnitude of formal organisation membership. The respondents were asked as to how many organisations they belonged to. Table VI.7 summarizes the responses obtained against this question. It is evident from the table that 32.9 percent respondents are members of at least one formal organisation while 46.2 percent belong to two or three formal organisations. Another 20.9 percent respondents have indicated that they belong to more than three formal organisations.

Table VI.7

Distribution of Sample by the Number of Formal Organisations
(N = 158)

Residential Areas	Member of one F.O. only	Member of two or three F.O.	Member of more than 3 F.O.
Patkapur	15 (28.8)	25 (48.1)	12 (23.1)
Babupurwa	23 (50.0)	20 (43.5)	3 (6.5)
Swaroop Nagar	14 (23.3)	28 (46.7)	18 (30.0)
Total	52 (32.9)	73 (46.2)	33 (20.9)

These figures compare favourably with the data of the Detroit study which observed that out of those persons who were members of formal groups, more than three-fourths had membership only in one or two formal groups, (Axelord: 1956). The column wise analysis points out that of those who belong to more than three organisations (N = 33), majority is from Swaroop Nagar with 54.5 percent respondents of this category falling in Swaroop Nagar. Patkapur has 36.4 percent of such respondents while Babupurwa again assumes a poor third position with only 9.1 percent of these respondents living in this locality.

Row-wise analysis provides another measure of comparability among the three residential areas and further corroborates the earlier findings. It indicates that Swaroop-Nagar has a greater proportion of respondents who belong to more than one formal organisations as compared to Patkapur and Babupurwa. In Swaroop Nagar 76.7 percent of its respondents who are formal organisation members belong to two or more formal organisations. Patkapur is fairly comparable with 71.2 percent of its members belonging to more than one formal organisation. The contrast is pronounced in the case of Babupurwa alone where 50 percent of the members have indicated their membership of two or more formal organisations.

On application of tests of significance it is found that the number of formal organisations an individual is

member of is significantly associated with income and socio-economic status (See Tables: 67 and 68; Appendix B).

Nature of Participation:

As it was felt that mere indication of membership and the time spent with formal organisations would not provide an adequate measure of participation, an attempt was made to spell out the nature of participation in formal organisations. The respondents were directly asked to indicate the nature of their participation in formal organisations. The close-ended responses were categorised into five items and were ordered to indicate the intensity of participation, ranging from mere use of the services provided by the organisation to active interest in the organisational matters of the association.

Table VI.8 reports the information obtained on this head. It indicates that of those who are members of formal organisations (N = 158), 13.8 percent respondents, only make use of the services provided by the organisation and 1.9 percent respondents are those who merely contribute money to these formal organisations. 24.5 percent respondents are those who contribute money as well as attend meetings of the organisation or organisations. The respondents who contribute money, attend meetings and devote time on their own form 33.3 percent of respondents belonging to formal organisations, while 26.4 percent respondents are those who attend meetings,

contribute money, devote time on their own and take active interest in the organisational matters of the association.

Table VI.8

Distribution of Sample by the Nature of Participation in Formal Organisations

(N = 158)

Residential Areas	Use of service only	Contribute money only	Attends meeting too	Devotes time	Participates in org. matters
Patkapur	7 (13.5)	1 (1.9)	17 (13.5)	19 (36.5)	18 (34.6)
Babupurwa	11 (23.9)	2 (4.3)	19 (41.3)	9 (19.6)	5 (10.9)
Swaroop Nagar	4 (6.6)	0 (0.0)	13 (21.3)	24 (41.0)	19 (31.1)
Total	22 (13.8)	3 (1.9)	39 (24.5)	52 (33.3)	42 (26.4)

These are the people who may be rated as the most active participants in formal organisations.

Of these 'most active participants' (N = 42) 45.2 percent come from Swaroop Nagar, 42.9 percent from Patkapur and only 11.9 percent from Babupurwa as indicated by the column-analysis of the table. The row-analysis further corroborates this finding. In Swaroop Nagar the percentage of respondents who can be rated higher on participation in formal

* Percentages are worked out column wise.

organisations (columns 4 + 5) is 72.2. For Patkapur this percentage is 71.1 and for Babupurwa it is only 30.5.

Feelings About Formal Organisations in the Locality:

To support the earlier, rather quantitative information about formal participation, respondents were asked a qualitative and open-ended question in response to which they were asked to indicate their feelings about formal organisations or voluntary associations in their locality. This question was framed in an open-ended manner to provide for sufficient flexibility in responses. The responses were later coded, classified and ordered. Table VI.9 summarizes this qualitative dimension of the participation.

The table shows that 14 percent of the respondents are completely indifferent to the existence of formal organisations in their locality and are not aware about their functioning etc. The majority of the respondents (46.6 percent) is largely critical of the functioning of these organisations on account of their limited scope, mal-functioning, vested interests of a few people etc. One may argue here if this critical approach may not include a typical orientation toward formal organisations rather than a balanced view point the result of a careful examination and evaluation of these organisations and their functioning. The exclusively critical attitude seems to be an improvement over the 'indifferent' attitude, but largely may indicate an overgeneralized expression signifying not much interest in and awareness of formal

organisations in the locality. Though it may be pointed out here that formal organisations of the locality may justify

Table VI.9

Distribution of Sample by the Feelings about Voluntary
Organisation in the Neighbourhood
(N=225)

Residential Areas	Indiffe- rent	Critical only	Critical but cons- tructive	Apprecia- tive.
Patkapur	11 (15.1)	38 (52.1)	10 (13.7)	14 (19.2)
Babupurwa	5 (6.8)	46 (63.0)	0 (0.0)	22 (30.1)
Swaroop Nagar	15 (20.0)	19 (25.3)	22 (29.3)	19 (25.9)
Total	31 (14.0)	103 (46.6)	32 (14.5)	55 (24.9)

this criticism to some extent as these are largely neighbour-
hood based, sectarian and narrow in scope and functioning.

The table further reports that 14.5 percent respondents are careful and constructive in their attitudes. These are the respondents who show relatively more awareness of the organisations in their locality, point out specific problems with organisations and offer positive and constructive suggestions. The last in this order are those who are largely appreciative of the organisations in the locality and such respondents form 24.9 percent of the sample.

On the basis of these responses it may be construed that the responses of the last two columns (3 and 4) only indicate relatively greater involvement with the organisations of the locality. The row-analysis indicates that as far as respondents of this group are concerned, Swaroop Nagar has 54.6 percent of its respondents falling in this category, Patkapur has 32.9 percent and Babupurwa 30.1, percent. A significant feature about Babupurwa is that all of these 30.1 percent respondents are those who fall in column 4 only i.e. those appreciating the organisations of the locality. This fact suggests that in Babupurwa the respondents can be classified into two extremes - one who are largely ignorant of and indifferent to the functioning of voluntary organisations, and the other, who are largely aware and appreciative of these organisations and their functionings.

Membership of Caste Organisations:

Caste organisations are traditional and indigenous in their character. They are not importations of the process of westernization but the continuation of the traditional social structure in the urban milieu. Such organisations reflect the perpetuating significance of caste and allied traditional collectivities - built around the concept of mutual aid. African studies have largely supported this assumption (Banton: 1957; Little: 1959; Hunter: 1962). Clinard

has maintained that in many countries, the slums have served as places where group living and associations on the basis of villages, regions, tribes, or ethnic or racial groups may develop.¹³ For example, most of the people who live in the slum areas of Peruvian cities are Indians from rural areas, many of them are able to maintain some of their close village ties and to form organisations to cooperate in self-help improvements in urban areas.¹⁴ Similarly, in Accra, migrants tend to form tribal or home town associations for mutual self-help. There are more than 100 such associations with a total membership reported to be equal to about one-half the male population.¹⁵ In Freetown, Sierra Leone, though migrants no longer congregate in tribal sectors, there is a system of tribal headmanship and voluntary association, which as Banton has concluded is of:

Considerable influence in the life of tribal people settled in the city and might be utilized more systematically as a means of organising self-help in the immigrant communities and training the newcomer in citizenship.¹⁶

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13. Clinard, Marshall B., 'Slums and Community Development: Experiments in Self-help', (The Free Press, New York, 1966), p. 18.
 14. Jose Matos Mar, 'The Barriados of Lima: An Example of Integration into Urban Life', in Philip M. Hauser, (ed.) 'Urbanisation in Latin America', (New York: 1961), pp. 170-90
 15. Ione Acquah: 'Accra Survey, 1953-1956', (London: University of London Press), 1958.
 16. Banton, Michael, 'West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown'. (London Oxford University Press, 1957), p. XV.

The data of all these studies suggest that voluntary organisations based on traditional ties of village, region tribe, ethnic group and caste are not uncommon in the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In India the popular traditional collectivities seem to be caste or regional groupings.

Table VI.10 presents the data on the membership of caste organisations in the three residential areas of Kanpur. The data indicate that a majority of the respondents i.e. 78.2 percent do not belong to caste groupings or associations while the rest 20.9 percent are members of one or the other caste association. These caste associations are not confined

Table VI.10

Distribution of Sample by the Membership of Caste Organisations

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Yes	No Answer	No
Patkapur	19 (85.3)	1 (1.3)	55 (73.3)
Babupurwa	10 (13.3)	1 (1.3)	64 (85.3)
Swaroop Nagar	18 (24.0)	0 (0.0)	57 (76.0)
Total	47 (20.9)	2 (0.9)	176 (78.2)

to slum areas alone as indicated by Latin American and African studies but can be located in posh and high status localities of the city too. This table itself supports the above assertion and shows that there is not much difference between the three residential areas so far as the membership of caste organisation is concerned. The percentages for the three localities, i.e. Patkapur, Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar are 25.3, 13.3 and 24.0 respectively.

Civic Voting:

Voting in the elections for civic bodies, has been generally associated with political behaviour or political participation. This study assumed that besides reflecting general political consciousness, voting in civic bodies may have an added dimension of civic consciousness which may ultimately reflect voters' involvement or even commitment to the neighbourhood and the city as a whole. Working on this assumption voting for civic bodies was incorporated as a distinct aspect of formal participation. Two questions were asked to measure this aspect. First, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they voted in the last corporation elections or not, then, secondly, they were asked to specify if they cast their vote on their own accord or on some one's persuasion. The second question, being too direct and value-loaded, could not solicit required information.

Table VI.11 presents the distribution of respondents of the three residential areas by their civic-voting pattern.

The data reveals that only 6.7 percent respondents admitted their not voting by their own choice. Another 9.8 percent complained that their names did not appear in the voting list and other records, still another 7.6 percent stated that they were not present on the day the voting was done. Only 3.1 percent respondents admitted that they voted in the corporation elections on other's persuasion. The rest 72.9 percent respondents reported that they voted in the corporation elections of their own accord. In all 76 percent respondents voted in the last corporation elections and 24 percent did not vote for various reasons mentioned earlier.

Table VI.11

Distribution of Sample by Voting in Corporation Elections
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Did not vote	Name was not in the voter's list	Was not present in elections	Voted but on others' advice	Voted on his own accord
Patkapur	4 (5.3)	5 (6.7)	1 (1.3)	2 (2.7)	63 (84.0)
Babupurwa	4 (5.3)	10 (13.3)	6 (8.0)	4 (5.3)	51 (68.1)
Swaroop Nagar	7 (9.3)	7 (9.3)	10 (13.4)	1 (1.3)	50 (66.7)
Total	15 (6.7)	22 (9.8)	17 (7.6)	7 (3.1)	164 (72.8)

Comparing the three residential areas on this aspect of formal participation it is found that inter-locality variation is not much significant. Only Patkapur, characterized by relatively greater political consciousness, scores over and above the other two residential areas in civic voting too and 86.7 percent of its respondents have voted in the last corporation elections. The percentages for Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa are 68 and 73.3 respectively. The lower ranking of Swaroop Nagar is a little surprising as it reflects a relative apathy and indifference among its residents towards corporation elections in particular and civic affairs in general. It may be hypothesized that relatively better living conditions might have taken the residents of this area to a point of saturation beyond which they do not expect much from the local bodies and corporators etc. The high rankings of Patkapur and Babupurwa, localities of relatively lower order, further confirm this assumption. Comparatively higher proportion of in-migrants in Swaroop Nagar and Babupurwa may be advanced as another factor responsible for these low rankings. The relatively lesser civic participation of in-migrants is borne out by the association test also.

Further cross tabulation and application of statistical tests prove that civic voting is not significantly associated with length of stay in other cities, education, income,

socio-economic status and caste (See Tables 73-76; Appendix B). On the other hand civic voting is significantly associated with the length of stay in Kanpur (Table: 71; Appendix B). The cross tabulation demonstrates that natives participate more in civic elections than the in-migrants and this participation goes on increasing with the length of stay in Kanpur. Similarly, settling in Kanpur too has a positively significant association with civic voting. The table shows that settlers have a higher percentage of voters (82.2 percent) than non-settlers (62.5 percent). The association test reveals a significant association between the two variables i.e. civic voting and settling in Kanpur (See Table:72 ; Appendix B).

An interesting finding is about the Hindus participating much more in civic elections than non-hindus. The table (Table: 77; Appendix B) shows that while 81.4 Hindus have voted in the last corporation elections the percentage for non-hindu respondents is only 52.4. This may be a significant pointer to the generally apathetic and non-participant behaviour pattern of the minority communities outside the boundaries of their immediate concern.

Formal Participation:

So far the discussion concentrated on different aspects of formal participation i.e. membership of formal organisations, time spent with formal organisations, nature

of participation, civic voting etc. A further attempt has been made to obtain a summary measure of formal participation as a whole. To obtain this measure, Chapin's social participation scale has been used with certain modifications.¹⁷

Table VI.12 presents the distribution of respondents of the three localities by their differential formal participation scores. As evident from the table 29.3 percent respondents fall in the category of 'no score', 30.7 percent have a low degree of formal participation with scores 10 and under, 22.7 percent respondents have medium degree of formal participation with scores 11 to 25 and 17.3 percent have high degree of formal participation with scores 25 and above. Inter-residential area comparison shows that

Table VI.12
Distribution of Sample by the Formal Participation Scores
(N = 225)

Residential Areas	No score	Scores 10 and under	Scores 11-25	Scores 25 +
Patkapur	23 (30.7)	16 (21.3)	21 (28.0)	15 (20.0)
Babupurwa	29 (38.7)	33 (44.0)	8 (10.7)	5 (6.6)
Swaroop Nagar	14 (18.7)	20 (26.7)	22 (29.3)	19 (25.3)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

17. The scale has been discussed in detail in Chapter II on 'Research Design and Methodology'. Modifications were made to suit the nature of this enquiry.

while Patkapur and Swaroop Nagar have 48 percent and 54.6 percent respondents respectively with scores more than 10, Babupurwa has only 17.5 percent respondents in this category.

Formal Participation and its Co-associates:

Cross-tabulation and the application of Chi-square test have highlighted the association of formal participation with a few other variables. Formal participation has a high degree of association with socio-economic status, income and education. The respective Chi-square values are 51.94, 58.14 and 43.96 which are considerably greater than the respective table values (See Tables VI.13, VI.14 and VI.15). This high degree of association shows that formal participation is functionally dependent on socio-economic status, education and income.

Table VI.13

Formal Participation Scores by the Socio-economic Status of Respondents

(N=225)

Socio-economic status	Formal Participation Scores			
	No Score	Scores 10 and under	Scores 11-25	Scores 25 +
Low	38 (52.1)	29 (39.7)	4 (5.5)	2 (2.7)
Medium	16 (25.0)	16 (25.0)	17 (26.6)	15 (23.4)
High	12 (13.6)	24 (27.3)	30 (34.1)	22 (25.0)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

Chi square = 51.942; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table VI.14

Formal Participation Scores by the Income of Respondents
(N = 225)

Income	Formal Participation Scores			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25 +
Less than Rs.3600	38 (45.2)	34 (40.6)	6 (7.1)	6 (7.1)
Rs.3600-6000	14 (25.0)	18 (32.2)	19 (33.9)	5 (8.9)
Rs.6001-12000	10 (19.2)	11 (21.2)	18 (34.6)	13 (25.0)
More than Rs.12000	4 (12.1)	6 (48.2)	8 (24.2)	15 (45.5)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

Chi square = 58.141; d.f. = 9; P = <.05

Table VI.15

Formal Participation Scores by the Educational Level of
Respondents
(N = 225)

Education	Formal Participation Scores			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25 +
Low	38 (50.7)	28 (37.3)	6 (8.0)	3 (4.0)
Medium	14 (26.4)	14 (26.4)	14 (26.4)	11 (20.8)
High	14 (14.4)	27 (27.8)	31 (32.0)	25 (25.8)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

Chi square = 43.965; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

Income is a fairly accurate gauge of a person's social standing. Apart from status considerations money offers concrete advantages in the social scene. One must have spare time to participate, and the greater the income the more time and flexibility in work scheduling one is likely to have. High income provides economic leverage with which to exert power and influence and thereby greater access to formal organisations.

In Detroit, Axelord found that four fifths of the respondents with incomes of Dollars 7000 or over belonged to one or more formal organisations, compared with two-fifths of those on the bottom levels of Dollars 3000 or less.¹⁸ The Detroit data also showed that occupational differences are important as three fifths of the professionals, managers, and proprietors belonged to one or more formal organisations, compared with two-fifths of the skilled and semi-skilled manual workers. The study further observed that participation in formal groups was found to vary with education, family income and family head's occupation.

Dotson's study of social participation among 50 working class families in New Haven (1951) provides further supporting evidence that formal group participation is

18. Op. cit., p. 15.

primarily middle and upper class phenomenon.¹⁹ In an earlier study in New York city, Komarovsky (1948) found that about three-fifths of the male manual workers, half of the white colour employees, One-third of the businessman and one-fifth of the professionals were without group affiliations.²⁰ Similarly various studies indicate that a positive correlation exists between the amount of formal schooling and formal participation. A study conducted by the American Institute of Public opinion (1954) revealed that about three-fourths of the respondents having college education, held memberships in associations, compared with three-fifths of those who had attended only high school, and about two-fifths of those with an elementary education.²¹

As a matter of fact all the available studies consistently point out the trend among high socio-economic status persons to participate more extensively informal organisations than persons with low socio-economic status.

Education, of course, is related to income and occupational status, and all of these factors taken together

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19. Dotson, Floyd, 'Patterns of Voluntary Associations among working class families', American Sociological Review, 16, (Oct. 1951), pp. 687-93.
 20. Komarovsky, Mirra; 'The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers', American Sociological Review, 11, (Dec. 1946), pp. 686-98.
 21. Wright, Charles R. and Hyman, Herbert H., 'Voluntary Association memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys', American Sociological Review, 23, (June, 1958); pp. 284-94.

Table VI.16

Formal Participation Scores by Length of Stay in Cities
(N = 225)

Length of Stay in cities	Formal Participation Scores			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25 +
Less than 20 yrs.	37 (37.9)	29 (30.6)	12 (12.6)	18 (18.9)
More than 20 yrs.	12 (20.3)	20 (33.9)	18 (30.5)	9 (15.3)
Since birth	17 (24.3)	20 (28.6)	21 (30.0)	12 (17.1)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

Chi square = 12.688; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table VI.17

Formal Participation Score by Respondent's Settling
in Kanpur

(N=225)

Settling in Kanpur	Formal Participation Score			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25 +
No	14 (35.0)	20 (50.0)	5 (12.5)	1 (2.5)
Not definite	24 (42.9)	17 (30.4)	11 (19.6)	4 (7.1)
Yes	28 (21.7)	32 (24.8)	35 (27.1)	34 (26.4)
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)

Chi square = 30.487; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

account for some of the leisure time an individual has at his disposal. Formal participation often involves considerable leisure time as well as money. But education by itself, tends to widen the individual's range of interests which can often be satisfied through participation in formal organisations.

Formal participation is significantly associated with almost all the variables that indicate a person's urban exposure, his urban back-ground, his desire to settle in the city etc. In the case of this study it has been found that formal participation has a high degree of significant association with length of stay in cities, settling in Kanpur and the size of towns stayed in before coming to Kanpur. Table VI.16 presents the degree of association between formal participation and the length of stay in cities.

The association between formal participation and respondent's settling in Kanpur has been shown in Table VI.17. The table suggests that formal participation is not independent of settling in Kanpur. Similarly, it has been found that formal participation is significantly associated with size of the towns stayed in before coming to Kanpur. The table VI.18 reveals that formal participation is dependent on the size of towns in which a respondent has stayed before coming to Kanpur. The computed

Chi-square 20.38 is greater than the table value 12.6 at .95 level of significance and 6 degrees of freedom.

Table VI.18

Formal Participation Scores by Size of Towns Stayed
(N=132)

Size of towns Stayed	Formal Participation Score			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25 +
Small town	11 (57.9)	3 (15.8)	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)
City	9 (27.3)	8 (24.2)	9 (27.3)	7 (21.2)
Metropolis	10 (12.5)	31 (38.8)	27 (33.7)	12 (15.0)
Total	30 (22.7)	42 (31.8)	39 (29.6)	21 (15.9)

Chi square = 20.383; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table VI.19 shows that formal participation is significantly associated with the type of place respondents stayed in before coming to Kanpur. The table shows that the formal participation score is functionally dependent over the type of place from which a respondent has come to Kanpur. The different types categorized are villages,

city and metropolis. The table reveals that the computed Chi square 13.171 is greater than the table value 12.6 at .95 level of significance and 6 degrees of freedom. The respondents, who have been exposed to city and metropolitan life before coming to Kanpur, do not find the city as problematic, inaccessible and difficult to cope with as others, with lesser or no urban experience behind them find it. The former, are likely to get on terms with the city and its formal organisations relatively easily and smoothly and hence in a position to evince better formal participation rate.

Table VI.19

Formal Participation Score by the Place of Stay before Coming to Kanpur

(N = 167)

Place before Kanpur	Formal Participation Score			
	No Score	Less than 10	11-25	25+
Village	25 (40.3)	21 (33.9)	10 (16.1)	6 (9.7)
City	17 (35.4)	11 (22.9)	9 (18.8)	11 (22.9)
Metropolis	10 (17.5)	23 (40.4)	16 (26.1)	8 (14.0)
Total	52 (31.1)	55 (32.9)	35 (21.0)	25 (15.0)

Chi square = 13.171; d.f. 6; P = < .05

It is interesting to find that formal participation is significantly associated with caste also. The table in the appendix shows that the two variables have a significant Chi-square value of 18.259 at 9 degrees of freedom. In India where caste is generally associated with socio-economic status this significant association is understandable.

Occupation is a major determinant of both rates and types of formal participation. Hagedorn and Labovitz (1967) highlighted this fact in this study of the personnel of a large research organisation located in a metropolis. The study supports the general importance of occupations in the explanation of membership and participation in voluntary associations. Substantial differences are observed among occupational groups with regard to degree of participation, type of community associations and degree of participation in professional associations.²²

Similarly, Kamarovsky reported that economic classes defined in terms of occupation and income differed greatly in the extent of participation. At the one extreme was the unskilled worker (32 percent belonging to any organisation) and at the other end was the professional man with 98 percent

22. Hagedorn, Robert and Labovitz, Sanford: 'An Analysis of Community and Professional Participation Among Occupations', Social Forces, (June, 1967) Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 483-91.

belonging to one or more organisations. Each occupational class has its peculiar pattern of associations. Unskilled workers (Social or sports clubs or fraternal associations), skilled workers (Unions fraternal groups and political associations), salesman and office-clerks (social clubs, political fraternities), businessmen (fraternal, business associations) and professionals (professional organisations, occupational clubs), etc.²³

On the other hand formal participation is not associated significantly with age, religion, family size etc. (See Tables: 78, 79 and 80; Appendix B). Thus summarily speaking, formal participation can be described as the function of socio-economic status (education, income and occupation), urban exposure and back-ground.

Conclusion:

The material, presented and analysed so far, indicates that Kanpur residents may not be the 'compulsive joiners' type as Americans are considered to be, yet, most of them, roughly three fourths belong to one or the other voluntary organisation. The data also reveal that the membership of formal organisation is not entirely nominal or peripheral as generally feared but there is a certain degree of involvement in as much as the members contribute money, attend meetings and devote time on their own. The formally organized

23. Op. cit., p. 692

fraternal clubs, religious societies and recreational associations which have a larger membership approximate the informal association in structure and function to a considerable extent.

Although organisations are plentiful, they do not reach all elements of the population equally. It is, in general, the people in the higher income brackets, the better educated, those having high socio-economic status and greater urban exposure and experience who are most active in organisations and participate more.

Participation in formal organisations does not seem to affect primary informal ties as has been hypothesized by the western urban stereo-type model. Goldhammer asserts that 'when the individual's social relationships increasingly occur within the framework of specialised associations there tend to follow as consequences both a diminution of the affective or emotional content of the social relationships and a diminution of social control over the individual by the groups in which he participates.'. One might summarize this point by saying that the individual in contemporary society tends to be controlled less by his 'in-groups' and more by his 'out-groups'.²⁴ Such a line of argument seems far from convincing as far as the Indian

24. Goldhammer, Herbert, 'Voluntary Associations in the United States', Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 593-594

urban situation is concerned. As our data suggest people do participate in voluntary organisations but this participation does not necessarily involve an erosion of primary ties. Formal participation, it seems, like neighbourhood participation within an informal framework, is more additive in nature rather than substitutive. The old formula 'Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's ' seems to work well in the Indian urban arrangement.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study began by raising the question whether urban social participation in India, or for that reason, even in other developing societies conforms to the nature and quality of urban social participation in the western urban scene or has its own modality. It has been argued that while urbanisation in India has many resemblances to that in the West, it also differs from the latter in important aspects. Similarly, it is held and supported by other studies that Indian cities though have large size, high density and heterogenous populations, these characteristics, which according to classical urban sociologists, such as, Louis Wirth essentially give rise to the urban way of life, have not been able to produce the basic changes in interpersonal relations and social institutions as they have done in the West.

With this background it was hypothesized that a study of urban social participation may offer a useful and significant clue about 'urbanism' in India and might make a fruitful contribution to an empirical verification of

some of the hypotheses connected with social participation. It was expected that a correct or near correct assessment of the nature and degree of urban social participation will significantly indicate the nature of urbanism in its own right. Therefore it is in order, in the concluding chapter to discuss the validation of the hypotheses on the basis of our empirical material. We can take up these hypotheses one by one and show whether they have been validated or not.

Validation of Hypotheses:

I. The first hypothesis was that greater the length of stay in cities greater would be the degree of formal participation. Vereker and Mays in their study of social conditions in Central Liverpool (1955-56) established this hypothesis. The study found a significant association between the length of residence in that area and attendance of members of households at various recreative and social organisations in Central Liverpool. Similar findings are reported by a few other studies too (Goldhammer: 1964, Bell: 1965 and Axelord: 1956).

The data of this study indicate that formal participation is significantly associated with almost all the variables that indicate a person's urban background. Table VI.16 specifically shows that formal participation is significantly associated with the respondent's length of stay in cities. The percentage-distribution in this table also illustrated this point.

Of those respondents who have stayed in cities for more than 20 years, 45.8 percent have formal participation scores of 11 and above. On the other hand, of those respondents who have stayed in cities for less than 20 years, only 31.5 percent have formal participation scores of 11 and above. This percentage registers further increase in the case of those respondents who have been living in cities since their birth. The table shows that of these 47.1 percent respondents have the above level of formal participation score.

Another statistical test applied in this connection has been that of correlation. The correlation matrix presented in Table VII.1 further supports the findings. It indicates that the correlation between the two variables (.157) is significant at the 5 percent level of significance. All these statistical analyses lead toward the validation of the hypothesis that longer a person has stayed in one particular city or cities greater would be his degree of participation in formal organisations.

II. The second hypothesis generated by Bell's study (1965) was that greater the length of stay in one particular neighbourhood higher would be the degree of neighbourhood participation. Bell and Force in their study of urban neighbourhood types and participation in formal associations in San Francisco, found that men living in a neighbourhood for longer duration have greater degree of neighbourhood participation.

Table VII.1

Correlation Between Social Participation Scores and a Few Significant Independent Variables

(N = 225)

	Participation Scores			
	Neigh- bour- hood	Infor- mal	For- mal	Civic
1. Length of stay in Kanpur	.191*	.253*	.157*	.161*
2. Settling in Kanpur	.337*	.262*	.329*	.130*
3. In-migrant/Native	..274*	.245*	.154*	.066
4. Length of stay in the locality	.302*	.181*	.165*	.161*
5. Occupation	.035	.041	.385*	.105
6. Nature of occupation	.001	.052	.263*	.144*
7. Education	.012	.059	.326*	.052
8. Income	.114*	.006	.411*	-.029
9. Socio-economic status	.032	.471*	.352*	.174*
10. Age	.200*	.008	.161*	.043
11. Caste	-.018	.053	.236*	.235*
12. Religion	-.069	-.053	-.025	-.183*
13. Family size	.186*	.009	.043	.051
14. House ownership	.156*	.064	.419*	.021

* Value of r at .11 and above are significant at the 5 percent level of significance.

The data of our study indicate that the neighbourliness is significantly associated with the length of stay in that particular neighbourhood or locality. The correlation matrix in Table VII.1 further supports this association. As evident from the table the two variables have a correlation .302 which is considerably significant at the 5 percent level of significance. Thus the hypothesis that greater the length of stay in neighbourhood higher would be the degree of neighbourhood higher would be the degree of neighbourhood participation stands validated and accepted under Indian conditions too, specifically in the case of Kanpur metropolis.

III. The third hypothesis also generated by Bell's study stated that higher the socio-economic status of an individual greater would be his formal participation. Table VI.13 provides supportive data on this issue and indicates a very high significant association between the two variables i.e. formal participation scores and the socio-economic status of respondents (Chi-square 51.942). The correlation matrix in the table (VII.1) further corroborates this validation of hypothesis as the correlation between the two variables .352 is considerably significant at the 5 percent level of significance. Thus, the findings of this study have fallen in line with other major studies in the field.

IV. The third hypothesis stated that higher the level of education, greater would be the degree of both formal and

informal participation. Goldhammer, studying the factors affecting participation in voluntary organisations in Chicago, tested this hypothesis and found that individuals with higher education tended to participate more in voluntary organisations and as well as in informal groupings. The similar findings have been reported by Dotson (1951) and Gulick, Bowerman and Back (1962).

The evidence in this regard is provided by the data presented and discussed in Chapter V on informal participation and Chapter VI on formal participation. The Kanpur data reveal that as far as informal participation is concerned it is independent of education and other related variables (Chi square 4.387). Similarly, the correlation matrix also indicates that the two variables, education and informal participation, have a very insignificant correlation ($r=.059$; Table VII.1). Thus this part of the hypothesis stands rejected under Indian conditions. However, the second part of the hypothesis is accepted and validated as supported by the data presented in Table VI.15. The table indicates that the two variables, formal participation and education, have a very high degree of association (Chi-square 43.965). Correlation matrix further supports this evidence and exhibits that formal participation correlates strongly with education ($r=.326$). As a matter of fact the positive relationship between years or level of education and the degree of formal participation

is a common place finding in social research. Formal participation requires a body of facts, facts about organisations, their functions, administration, financing and so forth. However, informal participation or has no such qualifying conditions. Thus, as far as the above hypothesis is concerned, the study partly rejects and partly accepts it.

V. A similar hypothesis, again advanced and tested by Goldhammer, states that higher the level of income greater would be the degree of both formal and informal participation. This hypothesis also meets the similar fate and it is found that while income is strongly correlated with formal participation (Chi square 59.141 Table VI.14 and $r = .411$ Table VII.1) it is not a determinative factor in informal participation (Chi-square 6.344 Table 54, Appendix B and $r = .006$ Table VII.1); the two variables appear to be almost independent of each other. Thus this hypothesis too is partly accepted and partly rejected.

VI. Another hypothesis generated by Zimmer (1955-56) states that natives participate more both formally and informally than in-migrants. Zimmer formulated this hypothesis with a view to study the problem: does previous community experience of in-migrants influence their behaviour in urban community. The study found that farm migrants have the lowest rate of participation. Natives participate in the largest proportions, Urban in-migrants rate lower than natives but higher than farm in-migrants.

The supportive evidence on this hypothesis is provided by the correlation matrix. Its examination indicates that the variable, nativity, correlates significantly with formal participation ($r = .154$ Table VII.1) and similarly correlates significantly with informal participation ($r = .245$ Table VII.1). Thus, the Kanpur data supports and validates Zimmer's hypothesis.

VII. Another hypothesis incorporated in this study states that house-owners participate more in formal organisations than those who do not own. Gulick Bowerman and Back (1963) in their study of adaptation of newcomers in the districts of Durham and Greensboro verified this hypothesis and reported that these newcomers who purchased land and houses in these cities were found to be belonging to greater number of voluntary organisations. This hypothesis is validated by the data presented in the correlation matrix (Table VII.1). The table shows that house ownership correlates strongly ($r = .419$) with formal participation. The theoretical basis for suggesting that homeowners are likely to participate more extensively than renters is obvious. House owners have more of a stake in society as a whole, and in their local neighbourhood in particular. The owners' emotional attachment to his house and the multitude of experiences for which it provides a focus, quite reasonably leads him to emotional involvement in the community where it is located.

VIII. The next hypothesis states that higher the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood greater would be the number of voluntary organizations and greater would be the resident's participation in them. Bell and Force in their San Francisco study established that neighbourhood populations having different combinations of economic status, family characteristics and ethnicity, have different patterns of formal participation. The study revealed that men living in high economic status neighbourhood belonged to the greater number of associations, attended the meetings more frequently and held offices more than men living in low economic status neighbourhoods.

The supportive data on this hypothesis is incorporated in the chapter on formal participation. Swaroop Nagar, a higher socio economic status residential area has the highest percentage of respondents who belong to at least one formal organisation (See Table VI:2). Patkapur, coming next in the socio-economic status order, has the next ranking in formal organisation membership also. Babupurwa, a lower socio-economic status residential area has comparatively the lowest percent age of such respondents. Another table (Table VI:6) showing the distribution of respondents by the time spent with formal organisation corroborates the above finding. Similarly, another table (Table VI:12) showing the distribution of respondents of the three residential areas by the

formal participation scores, reveals that while Swaroop Nagar and Patkapur have 54.6 percent and 48 percent respondents respectively with formal participation scores more than 40, Babupurwa has only 17.4 percent respondents in this category. All this material leads us to conclude that the hypothesis that greater formal participation is associated with the higher status of the neighbourhood, stands accepted and validated.

The validation of the first part of the hypothesis has been rather easy. Table VI.1, in the chapter on formal participation, shows the distribution of voluntary organisations by the three residential areas. It illustrates that Swaroop Nagar, the higher socio-economic status locality has the highest number of voluntary organisations and leads the other two residential areas with 38 voluntary organisations. Patkapur, the next in order of socio-economic status has 27, while Babupurwa, lowest in order of socio-economic status, has comparatively the lowest number of voluntary organisations i.e. 21. Thus, this part of the hypothesis that higher the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood greater would be the number of voluntary organisations, also stands validated.

IX. The last hypothesis states that natives have greater average number of inter-personal contacts than in-migrants,

particularly rural in-migrants. This hypothesis is closely related to the sixth hypothesis discussed earlier and has been advanced by Zimmer. The difference between the two lies in the emphasis on the nature of contacts.

The supportive material on this hypothesis is provided in the chapter in informal participation. Table V.15 presents the distribution of respondents by the number of people with whom a respondent has greeting relations. It shows that Patkapur which was the highest proportions of natives, has also the highest percentage of residents (73.0) who have greeting relations with more than 100 persons. Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar, residential areas with greater proportions of non-natives have much lesser percentages i.e. 25.4 and 34.7 respectively. Similarly, the table (V.16) presents the distribution of respondents by the number of people with whom a respondent has intimate relations. Here too, Patkapur has the highest percentage of respondents (71.6) who have intimate relations with more than 4 persons; Babupurwa and Swaroop Nagar follow with 30.6 and 61.7 percent respectively.

Similarly, a cross tabulation of greeting relations by the in-migrant or native character of the respondent (See Table: 38; Appendix B) further supports the above finding. It reveals that among natives 69.0 percent respondents have greeting relations with more than 100 persons

while for in-migrants this percentage comes down to 36.7 only. Another cross-tabulation of intimate relations by the in-migrant or native character of the respondent (See Table: 42; Appendix B) reveals that while among natives 69.0 percent respondents have intimate relations with more than 4 persons the percentage for in-migrants is only 48.6. All this material of the study proves that natives have comparatively greater average number of inter-personal contacts than in-migrants and validates the hypothesis.

The general and overall facts of social participation and its co-associates provide an intergrated picture of urbanism. But when we compare the three residential areas in terms of both informal and formal social participation a dynamic model of Indian urbanism seems to emerge. Before explicating this dynamic model of Indian urbanism it is necessary to present an interrelated picture of the independent variables with which the urban social participation, both formal and informal, has been found associated or correlated.

In the above analysis length of stay in Kanpur, education, income, ownership of a house and living in a type of socio-economic residential area have been taken as independent variables and formal and informal participation as dependent variables, besides the nature and type of inter-personal relations. Although we did not consider any hypothesis with social relationships circumscribed by the

traditional collectivities of kin, caste and the region or place of origin of the in-migrants as explicit dependent variables, yet it is evident from a discussion of informal and formal participation that they have also been considered.

The data discussed and analysed in the chapters on informal and formal participation, bring out the association of the above independent variables with urban social participation. The informal participation, incorporating contacts with friends, relatives, co-workers and neighbours, has been found to be significantly associated with the length of stay in Kanpur and other cities. But, it has been found to be independent of socio-economic status, caste and religion. Formal participation has been found to be significantly associated with length of stay in Kanpur, socio-economic status, caste and the type and status of the residential area. However, it has not been found significantly associated with age, religion and family size.

Now we have to find out what light do the hypotheses discussed above shed on the fundamental theoretic issue of this research, i.e., the nature of urbanism found in Kanpur. For examining it we have to enquire into the inter-relationships among the independent variables as also the exogenous factors which might be influencing the independent variables. As these exercises weren't a part of our empirical work,

the picture which emerges is tentative, but has a heuristic value.

It appears that education and income have a significant correlation with the length of stay in the city. The ownership of house is very likely to be dependent on income while the socio-economic status and living in a type of socio-economic residential area are dependent on education and income. Therefore, we can safely presume that the length of stay is an independent variable, while education, income, ownership of a house, socio-economic status and living in a type of socio-economic residential area are intervening variables. It may be pointed out that length of stay, though specifically a temporal dimension, does imply the spatial dimension also through the categories of natives and rural-urban in-migrants which are equally meaningful and significant in the analysis of length of stay. Thus with an increase in the length of stay, it may be presumed, a migrant's socio-economic status rises*, which leads to an increase in formal participation. Informal participation is almost independent of socio-economic status. However, with an increase in the length of stay in the city informal participation expands

* The Correlation Matrix presented in Table VII.2 does provide some basis to this assumption. It can be seen that though socio-economic status is not significantly related to length of stay in Kanpur, it is significantly related to the next variable i.e. length of stay in cities other than Kanpur. This variable largely refers to urban-in-migrants who have stayed in other cities also before finally coming to Kanpur.

Table VII.2

Correlation Matrix of Independent Variables

	Length of stay in Kanpur	Length of stay in other cities	House owner-ship	In-migrant nature	Occupation	Education	Income	Caste	Socio-economic status
1. Length of stay in Kanpur	10000	-.555*	.264*	.617*	-.039	-.077	-.026	-.124*	-.023
2. Length of stay in other cities	-.555*	1.000*	-.018	-.394*	.356*	.321*	.357*	.163*	.318*
3. House ownership	.264*	-.018	1.000*	.218*	.401*	.390*	.518*	.198*	.390*
4. In-migrant Nature	.617*	-.394*	.218*	1.000*	.029	.60*	.049	-.142*	.073
5. Occupation	-.039	.356*	.401*	.029	1.000*	.763*	.540*	.271*	.694*
6. Education	-.077	.321*	.390*	.60*	.763*	1.000*	.609*	.284*	.721*
7. Income	-.026	.357*	.518*	.049	.540*	.609*	1.000*	.165*	.631*
8. Caste	-.124*	.163*	.198*	-.142*	.271*	.284*	.165*	1.000*	.196*
9. Socio-economic Status	-.023	.318*	.390*	.073	.694*	.721*	.631*	.196*	1.000*

* Value of r at .11 and above are significant at the 5 percent level of significance.

beyond the boundaries of one's kin and caste. Nevertheless, the traditional collectivities do not lose their significance. Besides, with a rise in socio-economic status the area of informal participation expands spatially beyond the neighbourhood.

The population of Kanpur, or as a matter of fact of any Indian city, may be divided into the natives (in our sample largely represented by the residents of Patkapur), temporary and quasi-migrants (largely represented by the residents of Babupurwa) and domiciled or permanent in-migrants in the city (represented by the residents of Swaroop Nagar).

It is surmised that the base of the population is composed of the natives, while the other two categories are dynamic and open one. The temporary and quasi-migrant category is filled by new entrants in the city; the old entrants either move up and become permanent migrants or may go back to their native villages for settlement after retirement from work or in old age. The progeny of permanent residents is likely to move up to the category of natives. Thus the category of natives may swell up gradually. But if they become natives they are likely to lose the dynamism which may affect their degree of urbanism positively.

With this dynamism goes the dynamism in urbanism. The temporary or quasi-migrants have low score in informal and formal participation; their contacts are largely confined

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to their kinsmen and the people of their village etc. Their informal participation is localised in their own neighbourhood and their membership of formal organisations is very limited.

The permanent migrants with urban background are on a better footing in moving up the occupational and status levels. Their urban exposure lends them a kind of resourcefulness which serves as a vehicle to go up the ladder of social and economic mobility. These are the people who participate more extensively in formal organisations.

The natives are likely to have comparatively more informal participation but again confined to their caste, kin and neighbourhood. They are on a different plane than temporary or quasi-migrants, but they do not form a bridge between the quasi-migrants and permanent migrants on a single scale of mobility. They participate more in formal organisations also but largely in those organisations that are neighbourhood based and are traditional in form and functioning. These natives are the sedimentary elements in the urban situation as compared to an increasing proportion of urban in-migrants, who have lived in cities previously, and who are accustomed to urban mobility as a built-in feature of their personal and social organisation. They may no longer be 'yokels' with a painful adjustment ahead. The natives, it seems, on account of their spatial and physical immobility, suffer from occupational and social immobility as

well. They do not amply reflect the urban dynamism.

The three categories have three different degrees of urbanism but two of them natives and temporary rural migrants are on a lower level and fairly comparable to each other. When they move up to the top bracket of socio-economic-statuses they are likely to spread their informal participation throughout the city, participate more in voluntary organisations, spread their network beyond caste and kin and thus exhibit more urbanism.

On the basis of the above analyses a dynamic model of urbanism emerges. It consists of the following premises:

- a. Continuous growth of technology leads to acceleration of industrialisation;
- b. The acceleration of industrialisation leads to a continuous expansion of job opportunities and occupational mobility;
- c. An expansion of job opportunities and occupational mobility affects the length of stay in city positively;
- d. Greater length of stay in city improves the chances of raising one's socio-economic status;
- e. An improvement in socio-economic status leads to an increase in formal participation;
- f. Greater length of stay expands the area of informal participation both spatially and socially;

- G. Rise in socio-economic status, however, does not affect informal participation.

The model envisages an ideal situation in which the people in the top socio-economic bracket would exhibit an urbanism somewhat akin to the Wirthian model. In Kanpur, however, we find that the nature and modality of urbanism is different even in this top bracket. This difference has been highlighted in the case of the residents of Swaroop Nagar. These are mostly permanent migrants with considerable urban background, belong to relatively higher socio-economic status and occupy status job positions. But here too the data revealed the persistence of caste, kinship and other traditional collectivities as viable units of social relationship structure. The uncertainties of economic life in the city and marriage regulations etc. continue to provide functional rationale to the persistence of these traditional collectivities. It is at this level that we can discuss Indianness of Kanpur Urbanism as against the stereo-typic urbanism featured in the Wirthian model.

Further, it may be emphasised that moving up the top level does not mean that people will not have intimate informal relations. The preponderance of such meaningful informal relations has been substantiated by the Kanpur data and has been further supported by various studies in Asia, Africa and Latin America referred to in the text. They are found

even in western societies. The important fact is that formal participation registers a significant increase as a person moves up to the top bracket. This increase is both quantitative and qualitative i.e. he participates in greater number of voluntary organisations and his participation becomes more intensive.

This dynamism is possible if there is continuous opening of new opportunities and also for occupational mobility. Ideally speaking urbanisation and industrialisation go hand in hand (Peach: 1968). Therefore jobs for new entrants in the urban streams and for opportunities for occupational mobility largely depend on industrialisation. The argument may be further extended backward to include technology which affects the pace of industrialisation significantly.

It seems that overall low degree of urbanism, found in Kanpur is explainable in terms of low degree of industrialization, restricted economic opportunities and sick industries which do not provide necessary infra-structure that demands a vast labour force, guaranteed income and opportunities for occupational mobility. N.K. Bose, in his study on Calcutta refers to an almost identical situation. He talks of a major confrontation between the enduring institutions of old India - her caste communities and

diversity of ethnic heritages and the pressures and values arising from the process of urbanization. This confrontation assumes harsher degrees because the city possesses no more than the rudiments of the technological apparatus that makes urban life possible.¹

As a matter of fact, it is true for almost all the major cities of India. It would be useful to recall here what Peach (1968) has to say about the uniqueness of the Indian urban situation. He has pointed out that in India urbanization has proceeded from lack of demand in rural areas. Whereas in industrialized Europe and America it has been the result of positive demands for labour from industrial sector. In the West, as urbanization and industrialization has progressed, the proportion of workers employed in primary sector has decreased while in India, the proportion has remained constantly high (See Table:2; Appendix B). For Peach, 'Industrialization and urbanization

1. Bose states that the city arose out of the needs of British commerce and trade. As trade advanced and some new industries arose, while fairly large scale migration took place, it failed to keep pace with the growing demand for jobs. Some of these migrants came from surrounding districts, some from U.P. and Bihar and some from Gujrat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Delhi. In the competition the commercial Bengali castes gave way and drifted towards beauracratie professions or sought security in zamindari. Net result was scarce mobility of labour and low order of opportunities forced people to seek support of co-villagers or his caste men or his own linguistic group. Thus, the traditional social identities which ought to have dissolved in the urban-industrial milieu if employment opportunities had been constantly on the increase, had become re-affirmed. See, N.K. Bose, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

so stably and happily married in the West are often divorced in India.²

Thus, urbanization in Indian cities is not accompanied by the necessary degree of industrialization which not only attracts in-migrants to the cities but also provides them channels for going up the ladder of social and occupational mobility, for attaining an optimum level of urban social participation and for ultimately securing a satisfying adjustment with the city life.

Particularly, in the case of Kanpur the obsolete technology of traditional industries of Kanpur, i.e. textile and leather and halting diversification of industries are evidences of slow input of modern technology in Kanpur. Slow industrialisation has restricted occupational opportunities. Consequently the population of Kanpur is not fully stabilised so that it may orient to urban social participation fully. This is evidenced by the fact that 42.7 percent respondents are not willing to settle permanently in Kanpur and want to go back to their villages or towns for settlement after retirement, (See Table IV.11). Such a population, which does not choose Kanpur or any other urban centre as a place for permanent settlement, is not likely to be urbanised ideally, although it is likely to acquire a few traits of urban social participation and therefore of urbanism.

2. Op. cit., pp. 297.

To sum up we find that the inferences and conclusions, drawn in this study, may be explained in terms of weaknesses inherent in the Indian urban situation and in the limitations inherent in Indian industrialization. The high degree of informal participation, the persistence of caste, kin, neighbourhood and other traditional collectivities as viable units of informal participation, the relatively lower level of formal participation etc. are some of the major pointers that establish the uniqueness of Indian urbanism, which exhibits a spill over of traditions in urban milieu. They also establish that for a meaningful insight into Indian Urbanism a dynamic model of urbanism has to be evolved which does not suffer from the ecological determinism of late thirties. A beginning can be made by testing the premises of this model. In the process this model may be replaced by another one. In suggesting this, probably, we are transgressing the boundaries of my research problem. However during the course of this analysis certain leads emerged and it became difficult to resist the temptation of posing new research problems which look significant in the wider context of an understanding of the process of urbanism.

APPENDIX - A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE STUDY OF URBAN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Schedule No.

Chak No.

House No.

Mohalla

RESIDENTIAL INFORMATION

1.1 How long have you been living in Kanpur?

Since birth / More than 20 years / 11 yrs. to 20 yrs. / 5 years to 10 years / less than 5 years.

1.2 How long have you stayed in cities other than Kanpur?

1.3 Have you settled or plan to settle permanently, in Kanpur?

Yes / No / Not definite

1.31 If yes what are some of the reasons which motivate you to settle in Kanpur?

1.32 If no, what are some of the reasons which force you to decide against settling in Kanpur?

1.4 Is the house in city, in which you are living

Owned / Rented / Free

1.5 Do you own any of the following?

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| a. House | b. Shops | c. Godowns | d. Agricultural land |
| e. Residential or commercial plots | f. Any other | | |
| g. None | | | |

1.6 If no, do you plan to own any of these immovable properties?

Yes / No / Not definite

MIGRATION

- 2.1 Are you a native of / in-migrant in Kanpur?
(Rest of the questions of this section are to be addressed to in-migrants only)
- 2.2 Please indicate your place of birth?
Village / town
District
State
- 2.21 Is your native place same as your place of birth?
Yes No
- 2.22 If not, please indicate your native place ?
Village/ town
District
State
- 2.3 Please indicate the place from which you have come to Kanpur?
Village/Town
District
State
- 2.4 What made you come to Kanpur?
- 2.5 How many times did you visit your native place in the last year ?
Never / Once / Twice / Thrice / More
- 2.51 What was the specific purpose of your last visit to your native place?
- 2.6 Who of the following live over there?
Wife / Children / Father / Mother / Brothers / All / Near first or second
cousins / Distant relations / None.
- 2.7 Who was the person helpful in your coming to Kanpur?

3.4 Does the success in your job depends on maintaining and widening your social contacts?

Yes / No / Not definite

3.41 If yes, how do you maintain or widen your social contacts? (e.g. by becoming a member of an organisation or club, throwing parties etc.)

LEISURE

- 4.1 How much leisure do you have ? (hrs. per week)
- 4.2 How do you generally spend this time?
- Staying in / Moving out / Both
- 4.3 Will you please tell how did you spend your leisure time in the last week and with whom?
- | Activity | With whom | Frequency | Duration |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
- 4.4 If you were entirely free how would you have liked to spend this time?
If choices are are more than please give them in preferential order.

FORMAL PARTICIPATION

5.1 Are you member of any club, association or organisation?

Yes

No

(Rest of the questions in this section are to be asked from the respondents who answer in affirmative)

5.2

Name of the Organization	Category*	Area of** operation	Secular	Office held	Time spent in a month
--------------------------	-----------	------------------------	---------	----------------	--------------------------

A

B

C

D

E

F

5.3 What is, precisely, the nature of your participation in these organisations?

- Makes use of the services provided by the organisation only.
- Contributes money only
- Attends meetings, contributes money
- Attends meetings, contributes money and devotes time on his own
- Attends meetings, contributes money, devotes time and takes active interest in the organisational matters of the association or organisation.

* Categories can be following:

- Recreational (R)
- Educational (Ed)
- Professional (Pr)
- Political (P)
- Economic (E) *u*
- Religious (RG)
- Welfare services (W)

** Area of operation can be:

- Neighbourhood only (N)
- City wide (C)
- Outside the city (OC)

5.4 There must be a number of voluntary organisations, associations or clubs in your locality? What is your feeling about their utility, functioning and services etc.

5.5 Are you a member of any caste group, council or association?

Yes

No

INFORMAL PARTICIPATION

6.1 How many relatives, other than immediate family members, do you have in Kanpur?

6.2 How many times a month do you see them?

6.3 What is the nature of contacts?

- a. Casual visiting only
- b. Outings, movies and picnics etc.
- c. Intimate visiting
- d. Help in difficulties
- e. Help in crisis.

6.4 How many friends do you have in Kanpur?

6.5 Please name your three best friends in Kanpur and their addresses.

A

B

C

- 6.6 How many of these are your:
- a. Neighbours
 - b. Co-workers but not (a)
 - c. Caste members but not (a) & (b)
 - d. Neighbours and co-workers
 - e. Neighbours and caste members
 - f. Co-workers and caste members
 - g. Neighbours, co-workers and caste members
- 6.7 How many times a month do you see your friends?
- 6.8 What is the nature of contact?
- a. Casual visiting only.
 - b. Outings, movies and picnics etc.
 - c. Intimate visiting
 - d. Help in difficulties
 - e. Help in crisis
- 6.9 How many times a month do you meet your co-workers (other than your friends) beyond the working time?
- 6.10 Nature of contact?
- a. Casual visiting only
 - b. Outings, movies and picnics etc.
 - c. Intimate visiting
 - d. Help in difficulties
 - e. Help in crisis
- 6.11 How many of your co-workers whom you meet are:
- a. your caste members
 - b. Hailing from your region but not caste members
 - c. Hailing from your region as well as your caste members
 - d. your neighbours but not (a) and (b)
 - e. Neighbours, caste members as well as from your region

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- 7.1 For how long are you in this locality? (Years)
- 7.2 Why did you select this area?
- a. Better housing
 - b. Nearness to job
 - c. Good neighbourhood
 - d. Healthy surroundings
 - e. Nearness to friends, relatives etc.
 - f. Nearness to facilities e.g. Hospital market etc.
 - g. No selection involved at all
 - h. Any other.

- 7.3 About how many of the people who live in your locality would you recognise by sight if you see them in a large crowd?
- None Few* Many** All
- 7.31 Do your best friends live in your own locality?
- None Few Many All
- 7.32 About how often do you chat with or visit your neighbours?
- Never Rarely** Sometimes** Often**
- 7.33 Do you and your neighbours exchange favours such as telephone messages, exchange of dishes etc.?
- Never Rarely Sometimes Often
- 7.34 Do you and your neighbours go to the movies, shoppings or picnics together?
- Never Rarely Sometimes Often
- 7.35 Do you and your neighbours discuss out each other's problems?
- Never Rarely sometimes Often
- 7.36 Do you and your neighbours participate together in religious activities? (Katha, Kirtan etc.)
- Never Rarely Sometimes Often
- 7.37 Do you and your neighbours ever take care of each other's children, women and old when other one is sick or busy?
- Never Rarely Sometimes Often
- 7.38 Do you participate in social groups or clubs such as coffee club, bridge club, gossip group or any similar informal gathering in your locality?
- Never Rarely Sometimes Often

* Few: less than 50%; Many: 50% and more

** Rarely: Once a month or less; Sometimes: Two, three times a month; Often: More than that

7.39 Do you and your neighbours celebrate festivals together?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often

7.391 Do you belong to any neighbourhood development association? (e.g. Vikas Mandal).

No Yes

7.4 Would you rather live in some other locality?

No Yes

7.5 What do you like most about your neighbours in this locality?

- a. Their friendliness
- b. Being of the same standard
- c. Quietness
- d. Helping attitude
- e. Any other

7.6 What do you dislike most about your neighbours?

- a. Un-friendliness
- b. Noisy people
- c. Unruly children
- d. Interfering
- e. Any other

7.7 Nature of relationship and categories of neighbours

Categories	Greeting relationship only	Casual relation ship	Intimate relation ship
------------	-------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------

a. Caste members

b. Neighbours from your region but not (a)

c. Co-workers but not (a) & (b)

d. Others

7.8 Nature of relationship and location of neighbours

Location	Greeting relation ship only	Casual relation ship	Intimate relation ship
----------	--------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------

- a. From the same house
- b. From the same block
- c. From the same street
- d. From the locality

7.9 Please name three most influential persons of your locality.

A

B

C

7.10 What are the reasons that led you to name them as influential and not others?

7.11 Every locality has certain problems such as school problems, tax rates, traffic or parking problems, sanitation and health problems which concern most of the members of a residential area. Are you now or have you been in the last year or so, concerned about such problems?

Yes

No

7.12 If yes, did you do any of these things?

- a. Signed a petition to be sent to the concerned official
- b. Talked to your friends
- c. Attended a meeting
- d. Wrote a letter to the newspaper
- e. Spoke directly to the concerned official
- f. Organised any action programme
- g. Any other

7.13 Did you vote in the last corporation elections?

Yes No

7.14 If yes, did you go for casting your vote on your own accord?

Yes No

SOCIO - ECONOMIC STATUS SCALE

Occupation	Education	Income (P.M.)
8. Professionals	8. Doctorate or Equivalent	8. Above Rs. 5000
7. Semi-professionals	7. Post-graduate	7. Rs. 3001 to 5000
6. Business-executives	6. Graduate	6. Rs. 1001 to 3000
5. Clerks	5. Intermediate	5. Rs. 751 to 1000
4. Farmers / shopkeepers	4. High School	4. Rs. 501 to 700
3. Craftsman / Artisans	3. Junior High School	3. Rs. 301 to 500
2. Skilled worker	2. Primary	2. Rs. 101 to 300
1. Unskilled worker	1. No schooling	1. Rs. 100 and below

Total Score:

Maximum score: 24

Minimum score: 3

Range : 21

SCALE FOR MEASURING INFORMAL PARTICIPATION

Contacts with relatives	Often	Sometimes	Never
Contacts with Friends	Often	Sometimes	Never
Contacts with Neighbours	Often	Sometimes	Never
Contacts with Co-workers	Often	Sometimes	Never

Score:

Often: A few times a month or more frequently

Sometimes: Once a month or less often

SCALE FOR MEASURING FORMAL PARTICIPATION

S.No.	Name of Organisation	Member	Attendance	Financial	Member of	Offices held
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						

Total Score:

IDENTIFICATION DATA

- 8.1 Name of the head of the family
- 8.2 Age 8.3 Caste
- 8.4 Religion 8.5 Language spoken
- 8.6 Education 8.7 Annual Income of the household
- 8.8 General details about family members living with the person

S.No.	Relationship with the head	Age	Sex	Education	Marital Status
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					

APPENDIX - B

Table 1

URBANIZATION IN INDIA

Year	No. of Towns	Population (in millions)	Percent variation per decade	Urban population (in millions)	Percent variation per decade	Percent Urban of total population	Percent Relative growth of urban population
1901	1917	236.3	—	25.7	—	10.91	—
1911	1909	252.2	+ 5.73	26.6	+ 2.4	10.57	- 3.12
1921	2047	257.4	- 0.31	28.6	+ 7.3	11.38	+ 7.66
1931	2017	279.0	+11.01	33.8	+18.4	12.13	+ 6.59
1941	2024	318.7	+14.22	44.3	+31.1	13.91	+14.67
1951	3060	361.1	+13.31	62.6	+41.2	17.34	+24.66
1961	2700	439.2	+21.50	78.8	+25.9	18.00	+ 3.80

Source: Ashish Bose, "Six Decades of Urbanization in India, 1901-1961", The Indian Economic and Social History Review, (January, 1965), Vol. I, II, No. 1.

Table 2

PROPORTION OF WORKERS IN THE THREE SECTORS

Census year	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Tertiary Sector
1951	72.1	10.6	17.3
1961	72.3	11.7	16.0

Source: Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1,
p. XXV and 398.

Table 3

ESTIMATED SIZE OF THE TEN MAJOR CITIES IN INDIA IN 1970
AND 2000 (in Millions of inhabitants)

Metropolis	<u>Type of estimate of population in cities</u>			
	Low		High	
	1970	2000	1970	2000
Calcutta	12.0	35.6	16.0	66.0
Delhi	6.0	17.8	8.0	33.0
Bombay	4.0	11.9	5.3	22.0
Madras	3.0	8.9	4.0	16.5
Bangalore	2.4	7.1	3.2	13.2
Ahmedabad	2.0	5.9	2.7	11.0
Hyderabad	1.7	5.1	2.3	9.4
Kanpur	1.5	4.5	2.0	8.3
Poona	1.3	4.0	1.8	1.3
Nagpur	1.2	3.6	1.6	6.6

Source: Kingsley Davis, 'Urbanisation in India' in Roy Turner (ed) 'India's Urban Future', (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 25.

Table 4

PERCENTAGE POPULATION VARIATION IN
KANPUR CITY

Year	Percentage variation in Kanpur city
1901-1911	- 11.96
1911-1921	+ 21.21
1921-1931	+ 12.62
1931-1941	+ 99.92
1941-1951	+ 44.75
1951-1961	+ 37.66

Table 5

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN KANPUR MUNICIPAL AREA
FROM 1901 - 61.

Year	Persons per square mile
1901	21,534
1911	18,966
1921	23,561
1931	26,472
1941	54,649
1951	63,853
1961	73,920

Source: Special Report on Kanpur City, Census of India, 1961,
Vol. XV, Part I.

Table 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS BY AGE GROUPS, CASTE, SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, LITERACY AND THE NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT.

		SEX AND AGE GROUP				
		0-11	12-16	17-21	22-31	32-41 42-61 62 and above
Rural	M	34.67	11.08	8.08	16.22	12.64 13.99 3.32
	F	34.23	10.61	8.98	17.06	11.58 13.65 3.99
Urban	M	29.91	11.22	10.24	18.02	13.37 13.77 3.47
	F	32.07	11.45	9.44	18.17	12.01 13.27 3.51
		CASTE				
		Upper	Middle	Lower	Scheduled	Illiterate Literate Educated
Rural		8.45	23.15	46.14	22.26	82.49 16.99 0.46
Urban		17.42	29.53	39.42	13.63	55.25 39.24 5.47
		SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD				
		1-3	4-6	7-9	10 and above	Agri. Mfg. Trade Adm. Misc. and Profen. ser- vices
Rural		31.48	44.12	17.66	6.74	79.95 4.49 2.39 6.85 6.32
Urban		39.06	39.46	16.18	5.30	15.54 17.13 12.63 67.73 16.97

Source: National Sample Survey No. 53 and N.V. Sovani 'Urbanization and Urban India', Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1966.

COMPARISON OF THE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Residential Area	Percent Migrants	Percent with length of stay more than 20 yrs. but not native.	Percent born in urban areas	Percent staying in the area for more than 20 years	Percent with age more than 60 years	Percent educated Graduate or more
Patkapur	46.7	84.0	76.0	74.3	12.0	37.3
Babupurwa	90.7	54.0	25.4	6.6	1.3	9.3
Swaroopnagar	85.3	50.6	78.7	11.0	18.7	82.6

Residential Area	Percent with income more than Rs.6000 a year.	Percent with more than 1000 High Caste	Percent Professionals	Percent owning houses	Percent non-Hindus	Percent belonging to States other than U.P.
Patkapur	26.7	65.5	37.0	33.3	17.3	8.0
Babupurwa	4.0	76.7	2.7	1.3	22.7	9.3
Swaroopnagar	82.6	71.6	48.6	62.7	16.0	37.3

Table 8

SETTLING IN KANPUR BY PLACE BEFORE KANPUR

(N = 167)*

Place before Kanpur	Settling in Kanpur			Total
	No	Not definit	Yes	
Village	16 (25.8)	20 (32.3)	26 (41.9)	62
Town	9 (18.8)	11 (22.9)	28 (58.3)	48
Metropolis	15 (26.3)	18 (31.6)	24 (42.1)	57
Total	40 (24.0)	49 (29.3)	78 (46.7)	167

Chi Square = 3.666; d.f. = 4, $\pi P = < .05$

* 58 respondents were natives of the city of Kanpur

Table 9

SETTLING IN KANPUR BY RESPONDENT'S FAMILY SIZE
(N = 225)

Size of the family	Settling in Kanpur by			Total
	No	Not definit	Yes	
Upto 3 members	14 (35.0)	7 (17.5)	19 (47.5)	40
4 to 8 members	24 (14.5)	46 (27.7)	96 (57.8)	166
More than 8 members	2 (10.5)	3 (15.8)	14 (73.7)	19
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)	225

Chi Square = 11.873; d.f. = 4; $P = < .05$

Table 10
SETTLING IN KANPUR BY THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC-STATUS
OF THE RESPONDENT
(N = 225)

Socio-Economic Status	Settling in Kanpur			Total
	No	Not definite	Yes	
Low	19 (26.0)	28 (38.4)	26 (35.6)	73
Medium	10 (15.6)	10 (15.6)	44 (68.8)	64
High	11 (12.5)	18 (20.5)	59 (67.0)	88
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)	225

Chi Square = 21.470; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 11
SETTLING IN KANPUR BY IMMIGRANT/NATIVE NATURE
OF THE RESPONDENT
(N = 225)

In-ingrant/ Native nature	Settling in Kanpur			Total
	No	Not definite	Yes	
In-ingrant	40 (24.0)	49 (29.3)	78 (46.7)	167
Native	0 (0.0)	7 (12.1)	51 (87.9)	58
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.1)	129 (57.3)	225

Chi Square = 31.813; d.f. = 2; P = <.05

Table 12

**SETTLING IN KANPUR BY THE RESPONDENT'S LENGTH
OF STAY IN KANPUR**

(N = 225)

Length of stay in Kanpur	SETTLING IN KANPUR			Total
	No	Not definit	Yes	
Less than 20 years	21 (27.6)	31 (40.8)	24 (31.6)	76
More than 20 years	19 (20.9)	17 (18.7)	55 (60.4)	91
Since birth	0 (0.0)	8 (13.8)	50 (86.2)	58
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)	225

Chi Square = 44.332; d.f. = 4; P < .05

Table 13

**SETTLING IN KANPUR BY THE INCOME OF THE RESPONDENT
(N = 225)**

Income	Settling in Kanpur			Total
	No	Not definit	Yes	
Rs.3600 and below	20 (23.8)	29 (34.5)	35 (41.7)	84
Rs.3601 to 6000	9 (16.1)	9 (16.1)	38 (67.9)	56
Rs.6001 to 12000	11 (21.2)	8 (15.4)	33 (63.4)	52
Rs.12001 to more	0 (0.0)	10 (30.3)	23 (69.7)	33
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)	225

Table 14

SETTLING IN KANPUR BY THE AGE OF THE RESPONDENT

(N = 225)

Age	Settling in Kanpur			Total
	No	Not definite	Yes	
Less than 40 years	12 (15.8)	25 (32.9)	39 (51.3)	76
40 to 50 years	28 (22.4)	30 (24.0)	67 (53.6)	125
60 and more	0 (0.0)	1 (4.2)	23 (95.8)	24
Total	40 (17.8)	56 (24.9)	129 (57.3)	225

Chi Square = 19.064 | d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Table 15

Frequency of Contacts with Relatives by Length of Stay in
Kanpur

(N = 197)*

Length of Stay in Kanpur	Frequency of Contacts with Relatives			Total
	Once a month or less	Two or three times a month	More	
Less than 20 years	9 (15.8)	11 (19.3)	37 (64.9)	57
More than 20 years	9 (11.0)	22 (26.8)	51 (62.2)	82
Since Birth	1 (1.7)	18 (31.0)	39 (67.3)	58
Total	19 (9.6)	51 (25.9)	127 (64.5)	197

Chi square = 7.869; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

* 28 Respondents have no relatives in the city

Table 16

Frequency of Contacts with Relatives by Respondent's length
of Stay in Cities

(N=197)

Length of Stay in Cities	Frequency of Contacts			Total
	Once a month or less	2 or 3 times a months	More than 3 times a month	
Less than 20 years	4 (4.7)	29 (33.7)	53 (61.6)	86
More than 20 years	5 (9.1)	11 (20.0)	39 (70.9)	55
Since birth	10 (17.9)	11 (19.6)	35 (62.5)	56
Total	19 (9.6)	51 (25.9)	127 (64.5)	197

Chi square = 10.271; d.f. = 4; P = < .05.

Table 17

Location of Best Friends by Length of Stay in Kanpur

(N = 212)*

Length of Stay in Kanpur	Location of Friends				Total
	Mostly of the same locality	Mostly of the near- by loca- lity	Evenly distri- buted	Mostly of distant locali- ties	
Less than 20 years	35 (47.1)	9 (12.9)	14 (20.0)	14 (20.0)	72
More than 20 years	37 (41.0)	24 (28.9)	14 (16.9)	11 (13.3)	86
Since Birth	19 (35.2)	17 (31.5)	9 (16.7)	9 (16.7)	54
Total	91 (41.5)	50 (24.2)	37 (17.9)	34 (16.4)	212

Chi square = 8.061; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

* 13 respondents did not reply

Table 18

Location of Best Friends by Settling in Kanpur

(N = 212)*

Settling in Kanpur	Location of Friends				Total
	Mostly of the same locality	Mostly of nearby locali- ties	Evenly distri- buted	Mostly of dis- tant localities	
No	11 (33.3)	5 (15.2)	8 (24.2)	9 (27.3)	33
Not definite	23 (42.6)	10 (18.5)	9 (16.7)	12 (22.2)	54
Yes	57 (43.3)	35 (29.2)	20 (16.7)	13 (10.8)	125
Total	91 (41.5)	50 (24.2)	37 (17.9)	34 (16.4)	212

Chi square = 10.352; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

* 13 respondents did not reply

Table 19

Location of Best Friends by Respondent's Place of Stay
Before Coming to Kanpur

(N = 154)*

Place before Kanpur	Location of Friend				Total
	Predomi- nantly in the same locality	Mostly in the nearby locality	Evenly distri- buted	Mostly in the dis- tant locali- ties	
Village	26 (42.6)	13 (21.3)	16 (26.2)	6 (9.8)	61
Town	23 (51.3)	14 (30.8)	1 (2.3)	7 (15.6)	45
Metropolis	18 (37.5)	7 (14.6)	12 (25.0)	11 (22.9)	48
Total	67 (43.8)	34 (22.2)	29 (18.3)	24 (15.7)	154

Chi square = 18.539; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

* To 58 respondents, it was not applicable as they were natives; 13 respondents did not answer.

Table 20

Nature of Contacts with Friends by Respondent's
Settling in Kanpur

(N = 212)*

Settling in Kanpur	Nature of Contacts with Friends			Total
	Casual	Intimate	Help in difficul- ties	
No	8 (22.9)	11 (31.4)	16 (45.7)	35
Not definite	5 (9.3)	24 (44.4)	25 (46.3)	54
Yes	12 (9.8)	77 (62.6)	34 (27.6)	123
Total	25 (11.8)	112 (52.8)	75 (35.4)	212

Chi square == 15.293; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

* 13 respondents reported having no friend.

Table 21

Nature of Contacts with Friends by Respondent's Length
of Stay in Kanpur

(N = 212)

Length of Stay	Nature of Contact			Total
	Casual	Intimate	Help in Crisis	
Less than 20 years	10 (13.9)	36 (50.0)	26 (36.1)	72
More than 20 years	11 (12.8)	43 (50.0)	32 (37.2)	86
Since birth	4 (7.4)	33 (61.1)	17 (31.5)	54
Total	25 (11.8)	112 (52.8)	75 (35.4)	212

Chi square = 2.48; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 22

Neighbourliness by the Place of Stay before Coming to
Kanpur

(N = 167)*

Place before Kanpur	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Village	3 (4.8)	51 (82.3)	8 (12.9)	62
Town	7 (14.6)	24 (50.0)	17 (35.4)	48
Metropolis	13 (23.2)	34 (60.7)	10 (16.1)	57
Total	23 (13.9)	109 (65.7)	35 (20.5)	167

Chi square = 19.297; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

* The rest 58 respondents were natives of the city.

Table 23

Neighbourliness by the Socio-Economic Status of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Socio-Economic Status	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	4 (4.2)	53 (73.6)	16 (22.2)	73
Medium	2 (3.1)	37 (57.8)	25 (39.1)	64
High	19 (21.6)	44 (60.0)	25 (28.4)	88
Total	25 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	66 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 23.105; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 24

Neighbourliness by Education of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Education	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Junior High School and less	5 (6.8)	48 (64.9)	21 (28.3)	74
High School or Intermediate	1 (1.9)	38 (70.7)	15 (27.4)	54
Graduate or more	19 (19.6)	48 (49.5)	30 (30.9)	97
Total	25 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	66 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 17.310; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 25

Neighbourliness by the Income of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Income	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Rs. 3600 and less	7 (7.2)	61 (73.5)	16 (19.3)	84
Rs. 3601 to 6000	5 (8.9)	34 (60.7)	17 (30.4)	56
Rs. 6001 to 12000	7 (13.5)	22 (42.3)	23 (44.2)	52
Rs. 12001 and more	6 (19.2)	17 (51.5)	10 (30.3)	33
Total	25 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	66 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 15.634; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table 26

Neighbourliness by the Age of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Age	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Less than 40 years	14 (18.7)	45 (58.7)	17 (22.6)	76
40 to 59 years	10 (8.0)	76 (60.8)	39 (31.2)	125
60 and more	1 (4.0)	14 (56.0)	10 (40.0)	25
Total	25 (10.7)	135 (59.8)	66 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 10.420; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Table 27

Neighbourliness by In-migrant or Native type of the Respondent

(N = 225)

In-migrant/ Native	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
In-migrant	23 (13.9)	109 (65.7)	35 (20.5)	167
Native	1 (.5)	25 (43.1)	32 (35.2)	58
Total	24 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	67 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 27.116; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 28

Neighbourliness by Caste of the Respondent

(N = 188)

Caste	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Untouchables and Scheduled Caste	1 (4.0)	16 (64.0)	8 (32.0)	25
Kayasthas	5 (16.7)	18 (60.0)	7 (23.3)	30
Vaishya and Kshatri- yas	9 (16.4)	32 (58.2)	14 (25.5)	55
Brahmins	8 (10.3)	46 (59.0)	24 (30.8)	78
Total	23 (12.2)	112 (59.6)	53 (28.2)	188

Chi square = 3.699; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table 29

Neighbourliness by Religion of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Religion	Neighbourliness			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Non-Hindus	1 (2.4)	26 (61.9)	15 (35.7)	42
Hindus	24 (12.6)	108 (59.3)	51 (28.0)	183
Total	25 (10.7)	134 (59.8)	66 (29.5)	225

Chi square = 4.073; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

Table 30

Comparison in Neighbouring in the Three Residential
Areas of Kanpur

Locality	Recognition of neigh- bours per- cent, many and all	Best fri- ends within the locali- ty percentage many and all	Visiting Neigh- bours per cent and sometimes often	Exchang- ing fa- vours percent some-times and often	Outing and movies per- centages sometimes and often
	1	2	3	4	5
Patkapur	81.3	37.3	82.6	74.6	34.7
Babupurwa	64.0	20.0	81.4	48.0	10.7
Swaroop Nagar	49.3	18.7	66.6	64.0	38.7

Locality	Discussing problems percentage sometimes or often	Care of Old Chil- dren and female percentage sometimes of often	Joining in- formal neigh- bourhood groups per- centage some- times or often	Celebrat- ing fes- tivals per centage sometimes or often	Neigh- bour- liness percen- tage medium or high
	6	7	8	9	10
Patkapur	85.4	88.0	47.4	93.4	98.6
Babupurwa	56.0	54.6	13.0	70.4	94.6
Swaroop Nagar	54.7	58.7	37.3	72.0	74.7

Table 31

Percentages of Some Significant Correlates of
Neighbourliness

Neigh- bourli- ness	Age			Education			Income	
	40 and less	40 to 59	60 and above	Low	Medium	High	6000 p.a. and less	More than 6000 p.a.
Low	59.3	41.7	—	20.8	—	79.2	45.8	54.2
Medium	32.8	56.7	10.4	33.8	28.4	22.7	70.9	29.1
High	25.8	59.1	15.2	31.8	22.7	43.5	50.0	50.0

Neigh- bourli- ness	Socio-economic Status			Religion	
	Low	Medium	High	Non-Hindus	Hindus
Low	12.5	8.3	79.2	4.2	95.8
Medium	39.6	27.6	32.8	19.4	80.6
High	24.2	37.9	37.9	22.7	77.3

Neigh- bourli- ness	Length of Stay in Kanpur			Settling in Kanpur		
	20 years	More than 20 years	Since birth	No	Not definite	Yes
Low	41.7	54.2	4.2	41.7	33.3	25.0
Medium	35.1	45.5	19.4	17.2	29.1	82.7
High	27.3	25.8	47.0	10.6	12.1	77.3

Table 32

Greeting Relationships by Settling in Kanpur

(N = 225)

Settling in Kanpur	Greeting Relationship				Total
	With less than 50 persons	with 50-100 persons	with 101-250 per- sons	with more than 250 persons	
No.	11 (27.5)	20 (50.0)	7 (17.5)	2 (5.0)	40
Not definite	13 (23.2)	29 (53.6)	12 (21.4)	1 (1.8)	56
Yes	17 (12.5)	36 (27.3)	33 (25.8)	44 (34.4)	129
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 40.616; d.f. 6; P = < .05

Table 33

Greeting Relations by Income of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Income	Greeting Relations				Total
	With less than 50 persons	With 50-100 persons	With 101-250 persons	With more than 250 persons	
Rs.3600 and less	16 (19.0)	39 (46.4)	21 (25.0)	8 (9.5)	84
Rs.3601 - 6000	14 (23.6)	14 (23.6)	12 (4.1)	16 (28.7)	56
Rs.6001 - 12000	7 (13.5)	17 (32.7)	12 (23.1)	16 (30.8)	52
Rs.12001 and more	4 (12.1)	15 (45.5)	7 (21.2)	7 (21.2)	33
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 16.562; d.f. = 9; P = < .05

Greeting Relations by Socio-Economic Status of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Socio-Economic Status	Greeting Relations				Total
	With less than 50 persons	With 50-100 persons	With 100-250 persons	With more than 250 persons	
Low	16 (21.9)	37 (50.7)	16 (21.9)	4 (5.5)	73
Medium	8 (12.5)	19 (29.7)	17 (26.6)	20 (31.3)	64
High	17 (18.4)	29 (33.3)	19 (21.8)	23 (26.5)	88
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 19.270; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

Table 35

Intimate Relations by Caste of the Respondent

(N = 189)*

Caste	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	With 4-10 persons	With more than 10 persons	
Scheduled Caste and untouchables	16 (64.0)	6 (24.0)	3 (12.0)	25
Kayasthas	6 (20.0)	15 (50.0)	9 (30.0)	30
Vaishya and Kshatriyas	26 (49.1)	17 (32.1)	10 (18.8)	53
Brahmins	37 (48.4)	28 (35.9)	16 (16.7)	81
Total	85 (45.7)	66 (35.5)	38 (18.8)	189

Chi square = 12.041; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

* 36 respondents were non-hindus, hence caste was not applicable to them.

Table 36

Greeting Relations by Length of Stay in Kannur
(N = 225)

Length of Stay	Greeting Relations				Total
	With less than 50 persons	With 51-100 persons	With 101-250 persons	With more than 250 persons	
Less than 20 years	15 (20.0)	38 (50.7)	16 (21.3)	7 (8.0)	76
20 Years and more	20 (20.9)	34 (37.4)	23 (25.3)	14 (16.4)	91
Since birth	6 (10.3)	13 (22.4)	13 (22.4)	26 (44.8)	58
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.3)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi Square = 32.301 ; d.f. = 6, P = < .05

Table 37

Intimate Relations by Length of Stay in Kannur
(N = 225)

Length of stay	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	With 4-10 persons	With more than 10 persons	
Less than 20 years	38 (50.0)	29 (38.2)	9 (11.8)	76
20 Years and more	44 (51.6)	30 (32.8)	17 (15.6)	91
Since birth	19 (32.8)	22 (37.9)	17 (29.3)	58
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi Square = 8.960; d.f. = 4. P = < .05

Table 38

Greeting Relations by In-migrant/Native Character of the Respondent

(N = 225)

In-migrant Native	Greeting Relations				Total
	Less than 50 per- sons	50-100 per- sons	101-250 per- sons	250+ per- sons	
In-migrant	36 (21.1)	72 (42.2)	39 (24.7)	20 (12.0)	167
Native	5 (8.6)	13 (22.4)	13 (22.4)	27 (46.6)	58
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 33.124; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

Table 39

Greeting Relations by Education of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Education	Greeting Relations				Total
	With less than 50 persons	50-100 persons	101-250 per- sons	250+ per- sons	
Junior High School and less	15 (20.0)	38 (50.7)	14 (18.7)	8 (10.7)	75
High School and Intermediate	7 (13.2)	13 (24.5)	18 (34.0)	15 (28.3)	53
Graduate and above	19 (18.8)	34 (35.4)	20 (20.8)	24 (25.0)	97
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 16.187; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table 40

Intimate Relations by Length of Stay in Cities

(N = 225)

Length of Stay in Cities	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	4-10 persons	More than 10 persons	
Less than 20 years	52 (53.6)	26 (27.6)	18 (18.8)	96
More than 20 years	19 (32.2)	30 (50.8)	10 (16.9)	59
Since birth	33 (47.1)	25 (35.7)	12 (17.1)	70
Total	104 (44.7)	81 (37.2)	40 (18.1)	225

Chi square = 9.294; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 41

Intimate Relations by the Socio-Economic Status of
the Respondent

(N = 225)

Socio-Economic Status	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	4-10 persons	10 + persons	
Low	47 (64.4)	20 (27.4)	6 (8.2)	73
Medium	24 (37.5)	23 (35.9)	17 (26.6)	64
High	30 (35.3)	38 (44.7)	20 (20.0)	88
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi square = 18.469; d.f. = 4; P = <.05

Table 42

Intimate Relations by In-migrant/Native Character of
the Respondent
(N = 225)

In-migrant Native	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	With 4-10 persons	With more than 10 persons	
In-migrant	86 (50.6)	58 (35.4)	23 (14.0)	167
Native	15 (25.9)	23 (39.6)	20 (34.5)	58
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi square = 10.342; d.f. = 2; P = <.05

Table 43

Intimate Relations by the Education of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Education	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	With 4- 10 persons	With more than 10 persons	
Junior High School and less	46 (61.3)	20 (26.7)	9 (12.0)	75
High School and Intermediate	17 (33.7)	24 (44.2)	12 (22.1)	53
Graduate and more	38 (40.0)	37 (38.1)	22 (21.9)	97
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi square = 12.251; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Intimate Relatives by the Income of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Income	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	With 4-10 persons	With more than 10 persons	
less than Rs.3600	53 (63.1)	23 (27.4)	8 (9.5)	84
Rs.3601 to 6000	20 (35.7)	23 (41.1)	13 (23.2)	56
Rs.6001 to 12000	15 (29.8)	21 (40.4)	16 (30.8)	52
Rs.12001 and more	13 (39.4)	14 (42.4)	6 (18.2)	33
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi square = 21.075; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

Table 45

Intimate Relations by Settling in Kannur
(N = 225)

Settling in Kannur	Intimate Relations			Total
	With less than 4 persons	4-10 persons	10 + persons	
No	25 (62.5)	8 (20.0)	7 (17.5)	40
Not definite	33 (58.9)	18 (32.1)	5 (8.9)	56
Yes	43 (33.6)	56 (43.0)	30 (23.4)	129
Total	101 (45.5)	81 (36.5)	43 (18.0)	225

Chi square = 19.043; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Table 46
Greeting Relations by the In-Migrant/Native

Nature of Respondents

(N = 225)

In-migrant/ Native	Greeting Relations				Total
	With less than 50 persons	with 50-100 persons	101-250 persons	With 250 and above	
In-migrant	36 (21.1)	72 (42.2)	39 (24.7)	20 (12.0)	167
Native	5 (8.6)	13 (22.4)	13 (22.4)	27 (46.6)	58
Total	41 (17.9)	85 (37.9)	52 (23.2)	47 (21.0)	225

Chi square = 33.124; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

Table 47

Intimate Relations by the In-migrant/Native

Nature of Respondents

(N = 225)

In-migrant/ Native	Intimate Relations				Total
	With none	With less than 4 persons	With 4-10 persons	With 10 and above	
In-migrant	16 (9.5)	70 (41.9)	58 (34.8)	23 (13.8)	167
Native	1 (1.7)	17 (29.3)	23 (39.7)	17 (29.3)	58
Total	17 (6.3)	87 (39.2)	81 (36.5)	40 (18.0)	225

Table 48

Informal Participation by Length of Stay in Cities
(N = 225)

Length of Stay in Cities	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
20 Years or less	64 (66.3)	32 (33.7)	96
More than 20 years	30 (50.8)	29 (49.2)	59
Since Birth	47 (67.1)	23 (32.9)	70
Total	141 (62.5)	84 (37.5)	225

Chi square = 4.652; d.f. = 2; P = <.05

Table 49

Informal Participation by Religion of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Religion	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Non Hindus	32 (76.2)	10 (23.8)	42
Hindus	109 (59.6)	74 (40.4)	183
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 4.037; d.f. = 1; P = <.05

Table 50

Informal Participation by Socio - Economic Status

(N=225)

Socio-Economic Status	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Low	52 (71.2)	21 (28.8)	73
Medium	38 (58.9)	26 (40.6)	64
High	51 (58.0)	37 (42.0)	88
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 3.421; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 51

Informal Participation by Caste of the Respondent

(N = 189)

Caste	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Untouchables and Scheduled Caste	17 (68.0)	8 (32.0)	36
Kayasthas	19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	25
Vaishyas and Kshatriyas	34 (61.8)	21 (38.2)	30
Brahmins	43 (54.4)	36 (45.6)	79
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 1.896; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

Table 52

Informal Participation by the Family Size of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Family Size	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Upto 3 members	23 (57.5)	17 (42.5)	40
4-8 members	109 (65.7)	57 (34.3)	166
More than 8 members	9 (47.4)	10 (52.6)	19
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 2.994; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 53

Informal Participation by Education of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Education	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Junior High School and less	54 (72.0)	21 (28.0)	75
High School and Intermediate	32 (60.4)	21 (39.6)	53
Graduate and above	55 (56.7)	42 (43.3)	97
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 4.387; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 54
 Informal Participation by Income of the Respondent
 (N = 225)

Income	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
Rs. 3600 and less	56 (66.7)	28 (33.3)	84
Rs. 3601 - 6000	40 (71.4)	16 (28.6)	56
Rs. 6001-12000	26 (50.0)	26 (50.0)	52
Rs. 12001 and above	19 (57.6)	14 (42.4)	33
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 6.344; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

Table 55
 Informal Participation by Respondent's Settling in
 Kanpur
 (N = 225)

Settling in Kanpur	Informal Participation		Total
	Low	High	
No	30 (75.0)	10 (25.0)	40
Not definite	40 (71.4)	16 (28.6)	56
Yes	71 (55.0)	58 (45.0)	129
Total	141 (62.7)	84 (37.3)	225

Chi square = 7.647; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

**Formal Organisation Membership by Respondent's Settling in
Kanpur**

(N = 225)

Settling in Kanpur	Formal Organisation Membership		Total
	No	Yes	
No	14 (35.0)	26 (65.0)	40
Not definite	24 (42.9)	32 (57.1)	56
Yes	29 (22.5)	100 (77.5)	129
Total	67 (29.8)	158 (70.2)	225

Chi Square = 8.388; d.f. = 2, P = < .05

Table 57

**Formal Organisation Membership by Size of Towns Stayed before
Coming to Kanpur**

(N = 132)*

Size of Towns Stayed	Formal Organisation Membership		Total
	No	Yes	
Small towns only	12 (63.1)	7 (36.9)	19
Both small and big towns	9 (27.3)	24 (72.7)	33
Big towns only	10 (12.5)	70 (87.5)	80
Total	31 (23.5)	101 (76.5)	132

Chi Square = 22.278; d.f. = 2; P = < .05
* The rest 93 respondents came from villages.

Table 60

Formal Organisation Membership by Education of the Respondents
(N = 225)

Education	<u>Formal Organisation Membership</u>		Total
	No	Yes	
Junior High School or less	38 (50.7)	37 (49.3)	75
High School and Intermediate	15 (28.3)	38 (71.7)	53
Graduate or more	14 (14.4)	83 (85.6)	97
Total	67 (29.8)	158 (70.2)	225

Chi square = 26.628; d.f. = 2 ; P = < .05

Table 61

Formal Organisation Membership by the Income of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Income	<u>Formal Organisation Membership</u>		Total
	No	Yes	
Rs. 3600 and less	38 (45.2)	46 (54.8)	84
Rs. 3601 to 6000	15 (26.8)	41 (73.2)	56
Rs. 6001 to 12000	10 (19.2)	42 (80.8)	52
Rs. 12001 and above	4 (12.1)	29 (87.9)	33
Total	67 (29.8)	158 (70.2)	225

Chi square = 17.528; d.f. = 3 ; P = < .05

Table 62

Formal Organisation Membership by Caste of the Respondent
(N = 189)*

Caste	<u>Formal Organisation Membership</u>		Total
	No	Yes	
Untouchables and Scheduled Caste	11 (44)	14 (56)	25
Kayasthas	7 (23.3)	23 (76.7)	30
Vaishyas and Kshatriyas	12 (21.8)	43 (78.2)	55
Brahmins	19 (24)	60 (86)	79
Total	49 (25.9)	140 (74.1)	189

Chi square = 19.526; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

* 36 Respondents were non-Hindus.

Table 63

Time Spent with Formal Organisations by Socio-Economic Status of the Respondent
(N = 158)

Socio-Economic Status	<u>Time spent with formal organisation</u>			Total
	Less than 6 hours a month	6-10 hours a month	More than 10 hours month	
Low	17 (48.6)	9 (25.7)	9 (25.7)	35
Medium	8 (17)	12 (25.5)	27 (57.5)	47
High	8 (10.5)	15 (19.7)	53 (69.8)	76
Total	33 (20.9)	36 (22.8)	89 (56.3)	158

Chi square = 26.054; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Table 64

Time Spent with Formal Organisations by Education of the Respondent

(N = 158)

Education	Time spent with formal organisation			Total
	Less than 6 hours a month	6-10 hours a month	More than 10 hrs. a month	
Upto Junior High School or less	16 (43.3)	10 (27)	11 (29.7)	37
High School or Intermediate	8 (20.5)	10 (25.6)	21 (53.9)	39
Graduate or more	9 (11)	16 (19.5)	57 (69.5)	82
Total	33 (20.9)	36 (22.8)	89 (56.3)	158

Chi square = 16.663; d.f. = 4; P = < .05

Table 65

Time Spent with Formal Organisations by Income of the Respondent

(N = 158)*

Income	Time Spent with Formal Organisations			Total
	Less than 6 hrs. a month	6-10 hrs. a month	More than 10 hrs. a month	
Rs.3600 and less	19 (41.3)	12 (26.1)	15 (32.6)	46
Rs.3601 to 6000	7 (17.1)	9 (21.9)	25 (61)	41
Rs.6001 to 12000	4 (9.5)	11 (26.2)	27 (64.3)	42
Rs.12001 and more	3 (10.3)	4 (13.8)	22 (75.9)	29
Total	33 (20.9)	36 (22.8)	89 (56.3)	158

Chi square = 22.495; d.f. = 6; P = < .05

* The rest 67 respondents are not member of formal organisations.

Table 66

Time Spent with Formal Organisations by Caste of the Respondent

(N = 158)

Caste	<u>Time spent with Formal Organisation</u>			Total
	Less than 6 hrs. a month	6-10 hrs. a month	More than 10 hrs. a month	
Non-Hindus	7 (38.9)	4 (22.2)	7 (38.9)	18
Untouchables and Scheduled castes	6 (42.9)	3 (21.4)	5 (35.7)	14
Kayasthas	5 (21.7)	2 (8.7)	16 (69.6)	23
Vaishya and Kshatriyas	6 (13.9)	5 (11.6)	32 (74.5)	43
Brahmins	9 (15)	22 (36.7)	29 (48.3)	60
Total	33 (20.9)	36 (22.8)	89 (56.3)	158

Chi square = 19.526; d.f. = 8; P = < .05

Table 67

Number of Formal Organisation Membership by Income of the Respondent
(N=158)

Income	<u>Number of Formal Organisation Membership</u>			Total
	Member of one F.O. only	Member of 2 to 3 F.O.'s	Member of 3 + F.O.'s	
Rs. 3600 and less	25 (54.4)	18 (39.1)	3 (6.5)	46
Rs. 3601 to 6000	12 (29.3)	22 (53.6)	7 (17.1)	41
Rs. 6001 to 12000	10 (23.8)	23 (54.8)	9 (21.4)	42
Rs. 12001 and more	6 (20.7)	9 (31)	14 (48.3)	29
Total	53 (33.5)	72 (45.6)	33 (20.9)	158

Chi square = 28.294; d.f. = 6, P = < .05

Table 68

**Number of Formal Organisations by Socio-Economic Status
of the Respondent**

(N = 158)

Socio-Economic Status	Number of Formal Organisations			Total
	Member of one F.O. only	Member of 2-3 F.O's	Member of more than 3 F.O's	
Low	17 (48.6)	18 (51.4)	0	35
Medium	19 (40.4)	20 (42.6)	8 (17)	47
High	16 (21.1)	35 (46)	25 (32.9)	76
Total	52 (32.9)	73 (46.2)	33 (20.9)	158

Chi square = 18.587; d.f. = 4, P = <.05

Table 69

**Number of Formal Organisation Membership by Caste of
the Respondent**

(N = 158)

Caste	No. of Formal Organisation Membership			Total
	Membership of one F.O. only	Membership of 2-3 F.O's	Membership of more than 3 F.O's	
Non-Hindus	8 (44.4)	10 (55.6)	0	18
Untouchably and Schedule castes	8 (57.1)	6 (42.9)	0	14
Kayasthas	6 (26.1)	12 (52.2)	5 (21.7)	23
Vaishyas and Kapatriyas	8 (18.6)	23 (53.5)	12 (27.9)	43
Brahmins	22 (37.3)	21 (35.6)	16 (27.1)	59
Total	52 (32.9)	73 (46.2)	33 (20.9)	158

Chi square = 12.104; d.f. = 8; P = < .05

Table 70

Number of Formal Organisation Membership by Respondent's
Settling in Kanpur.

(N = 158)*

Settling in Kanpur	Number of Formal Organisation Membership			Total
	Member of one F.O. only	Member of 2-3 F.O's	Member of more than 3 F.O's	
No	9 (34.6)	16 (61.5)	1 (3.9)	26
Not definite	12 (37.5)	16 (50)	4 (12.5)	32
Yes	30 (30)	42 (42)	28 (28)	100
Total	51 (32.3)	74 (46.8)	33 (20.9)	158

Chi square = 9.133; d.f = 4; P = < .05

* The rest 67 respondents belong to no formal organisation at all.

Table 71

Voting in Corporation Elections by Length of
Stay in Kanpur

(N = 225)

Length of stay in Kanpur	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not Vote	Voted	
Less than 20 years	27 (35.5)	49 (64.5)	76
More than 20 years	19 (20.9)	72 (79.1)	91
Since birth	8 (13.8)	50 (86.2)	58
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi square = 9.334; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 72

Voting in Corporation Elections by Settling in Kanpur
(N = 225)

Settling in Kanpur	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not Vote	Voted	
No	15 (37.5)	25 (62.5)	40
Not definite	16 (28.6)	40 (71.4)	56
Yes	23 (17.8)	106 (82.2)	129
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi square = 7.331; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 73

Voting in the Corporation Elections by the Education
of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Education	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not	Voted	
Junior High School and less	19 (25.3)	56 (74.7)	75
High School and Intermediate	9 (17)	44 (83)	53
Graduate and more	26 (26.7)	71 (73.3)	97
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi square = 1.923; d.f. = 2; P = < .05

Table 74

Voting in the Corporation Elections by the Income of
the Respondents

(N = 225)

Income	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not Vote	Voted	
Rs. 3600 and less	19 (22.6)	65 (77.4)	84
Rs. 3601 to 6000	13 (23.2)	43 (76.8)	56
Rs. 6001 to 12000	16 (30.8)	36 (69.2)	52
Rs. 12001 and more	6 (18.2)	27 (81.8)	33
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi square = 2.026; d.f. = 3; $P = < .05$

Table 75

Voting in Corporation Elections by Socio-Economic
Status of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Socio-Economic Status	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not Vote	Voted	
Low	20 (27.4)	53 (72.6)	73
Medium	10 (15.6)	54 (84.4)	64
High	24 (27.3)	64 (72.7)	88
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi square = 3.440; d.f. = 2; $P = < .05$

Table 76

Voting in Corporation Elections by Caste of the Respondent
(N = 189)*

Caste	Corporation Voting		Total
	Did not vote	Voted	
Non-Hindus (NA)	18* (50.0)	18* (50.0)	36*
Untouchables and Scheduled Castes	7 (28)	18 (72)	25
Kayasthas	3 (10)	27 (90.0)	30
Valshyas and Kshatriyas	12 (21.8)	43 (78.2)	55
Brahmins	14 (17.7)	65 (82.3)	79
Total	36 (19.0)	153 (81.0)	189

Chi square = 3.256; d.f. = 3; P = < .05

* 36 respondents are non-hindus hence do not occur in percentages and Chi-square test.

Table 77

Voting in Corporation Elections by the Religion of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Religion	Corporation-Voting		Total
	Did not vote	Voted	
Non-Hindus	20 (47.4)	22 (52.6)	42
Hindus	34 (18.6)	149 (81.4)	183
Total	54 (24.0)	171 (76.0)	225

Chi-square = 15.794; d.f. = 1; P = < .05

Table 78

Formal Participation Scores by the Age of the Respondent
(N = 225)

Age	Formal Participation Scores				Total
	No score	10 and less (low)	11-25 (medium)	25 (High)	
Less than 40 yrs.	22 (28.9)	24 (31.6)	20 (26.3)	10 (13.2)	76
40-59 years	39 (31.2)	42 (33.6)	22 (17.6)	22 (17.6)	125
60 years and more	5 (20.8)	3 (12.5)	9 (37.5)	7 (29.2)	24
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)	225

Chi square = 10.548; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

Table 79

Formal Participation Scores by the Religion of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Religion	Formal Participation Score				Total
	No score	10 and less (low)	11-25 (Medium)	25 (High)	
Non-Hindus	18 (42.9)	12 (28.6)	9 (21.4)	3 (7.1)	42
Hindus	48 (26.2)	57 (31.1)	42 (23)	36 (19.7)	183
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)	225

Chi square = 6.422; d.f. = 3; P = <.05

Table 80

Formal Participation Scores by the Size of the
Family of the Respondent

(N = 225)

Family-size	<u>Formal Participation Scores</u>				Total
	No Score	Score 10 and less	Score 11-25	Score 25	
Upto 3 members	17 (42.5)	9 (22.5)	6 (15)	8 (20)	40
4 to 8 members	42 (25.3)	55 (33.1)	41 (24.7)	28 (16.9)	166
More than 8 members	7 (36.8)	5 (26.3)	4 (21.1)	3 (15.8)	19
Total	66 (29.3)	69 (30.7)	51 (22.7)	39 (17.3)	225

Chi square = 6.5383; d.f. = 6; P = <.05

Table 81

Mean Values of Scale Scores of the Three
Residential Areas

(N = 225)

Residential Areas	Scale Scores			
	Socio- Economic Status Score	Neighbourhood Participation Score	Informal Partici- pation Score	Formal Participa- tion Score
Patkapur	12.86	27.48	15.42	15.10
Babupurwa	8.45	19.14	12.52	7.20
Swaroop Nagar	18.04	22.04	13.38	18.77

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